СТРОИМ
ЗА ИНДУСТРИАЛИЗАЦИЮ
На строительных площадках семи союзных республи
и заводах—поставщиках оборудования, на тр
ИДЕТ БОЙ ЗА ПУСК 518
ПЕРВЫЕ 183—УЖЕ В СТРОЮ.—ВЧЕРАШНИЕ СТРОЙКИ СЕГО
ПЕРВАЯ ШЕ
НОВАЯ ОБСТАНОВКА—
НОВЫЕ ЗАДАЧИ
ХОЗЯЙСТВЕННОГО СТРОИТЕЛЬСТВА
СССР
THE COMMISSAR VANISHES
МАКСИМ ГОРЬКИЙ
АВГУСТ.
18
1933 г.
ПЯТНИЦА.
№ 227 (5753).
ПРИКАЗ
СОВЕТА СССР.
EN A'ANT.
ВПЕРЕДЪ
Россійская
Соціальдемократическая
Рабочая Партія.
ЖЕНЕВА, 4 ЯНВАРЯ (22 ДЕКАБРЯ)
№ 1.
ЛЕНИН
В издании газеты приняли участие
объединенные литературные ор
низации и группы Москвы:

treacherous scheme to enslave the U.S.S.R. and deliver it, bound hand and foot, to the imperialist vultures.
Stalin tore the mask from these despicable capitulators and exposed their Trotskyite-Menshevik souls.
The prime task of the Party, Stalin emphasized at the Fourteenth Congress, was to ensure a durable alliance between the working class and the middle peasantry for the construction of Socialism.
The Congress endorsed Socialist industrialization and the fight for the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. as the fundamental task of the Party.
Shortly after the Congress, at the beginning of 1926, Stalin published his book, On the Problems of Leninism. In this historic work, he demolished the Zinovievite "philosophy" of liquidation and capitulation and proved that the policy adopted by the Fourteenth Party Congress, namely, the Socialist industrialization of the country and the construction of a Socialist society, was the only correct one. He armed the Party and the working class with an inomitable faith in the victory of Socialist construc-
Botshevik Party, mustering its forces and re-
nd brushing aside all capitulators and
the country into a new historical phase
Socialist industrialization.
ainst the sceptics and capitulators,
nvievites, Bukharins and Kame-
J. V. Stalin and S. M. Kirov. Leningrad 1926
Photo
В. Сталин, С. М. Киров и Н. М. Шверник в Ленинграде в 192
настоящих виновников войны, встретили
сочувствие широких масс трудящихся
ерывных провокаций и угроз войны
спокойствие и твердую решимость
ссовой борьбы в стране и ухудшение
капиталистическими государствами
новых атаках троцкистов на генеральную
из осколков всех разбитых фракционных
так называемый «оппозиционный блок»,
который с 1926 г. стал тайным агентом
емясь сорвать союз рабочего класса с осно
ства, враги пролетарской диктатуры требо
ного налогового обложения середняка. В 1927

DAVID KING

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THE COMMISSAR VANISHES

THE FALSIFICATION OF PHOTOGRAPHS AND ART IN STALIN'S RUSSIA

PREFACE BY STEPHEN F. COHEN

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE DAVID KING COLLECTION

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HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY
NEW YORK

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Opposite: The first portrait of Joseph Stalin, dated April 1, 1922, was drawn by Nikolai Andreyev at the time of Stalin's appointment by Lenin to the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a position he was to keep for more than thirty years.

Ominously, the future dictator scrawled over a print of the original: "This ear says that the artist is not well schooled in anatomy. J. Stalin. . . . The ear screams and shouts against anatomy. J.S."

We loved dipping our fingers in the inkwell filled with diluted soot
and were sometimes overzealous. I once inked out Comrade Kaganovich
himself because his name sounded like an exiled one to me.
I was lucky I was only eleven years old.
Sylva Darel, A SPARROW IN THE SNOW

Today a man only talks freely with his wife—
at night, with the blankets pulled over his head.
Isaak Babel

The "Index" grew longer and longer, and the scale of our *auto da fé* grander and grander. We even had to burn Stalin's *On the Opposition.* This too had become illegal under the new dispensation.
Evgenia Ginzburg, JOURNEY INTO THE WHIRLWIND

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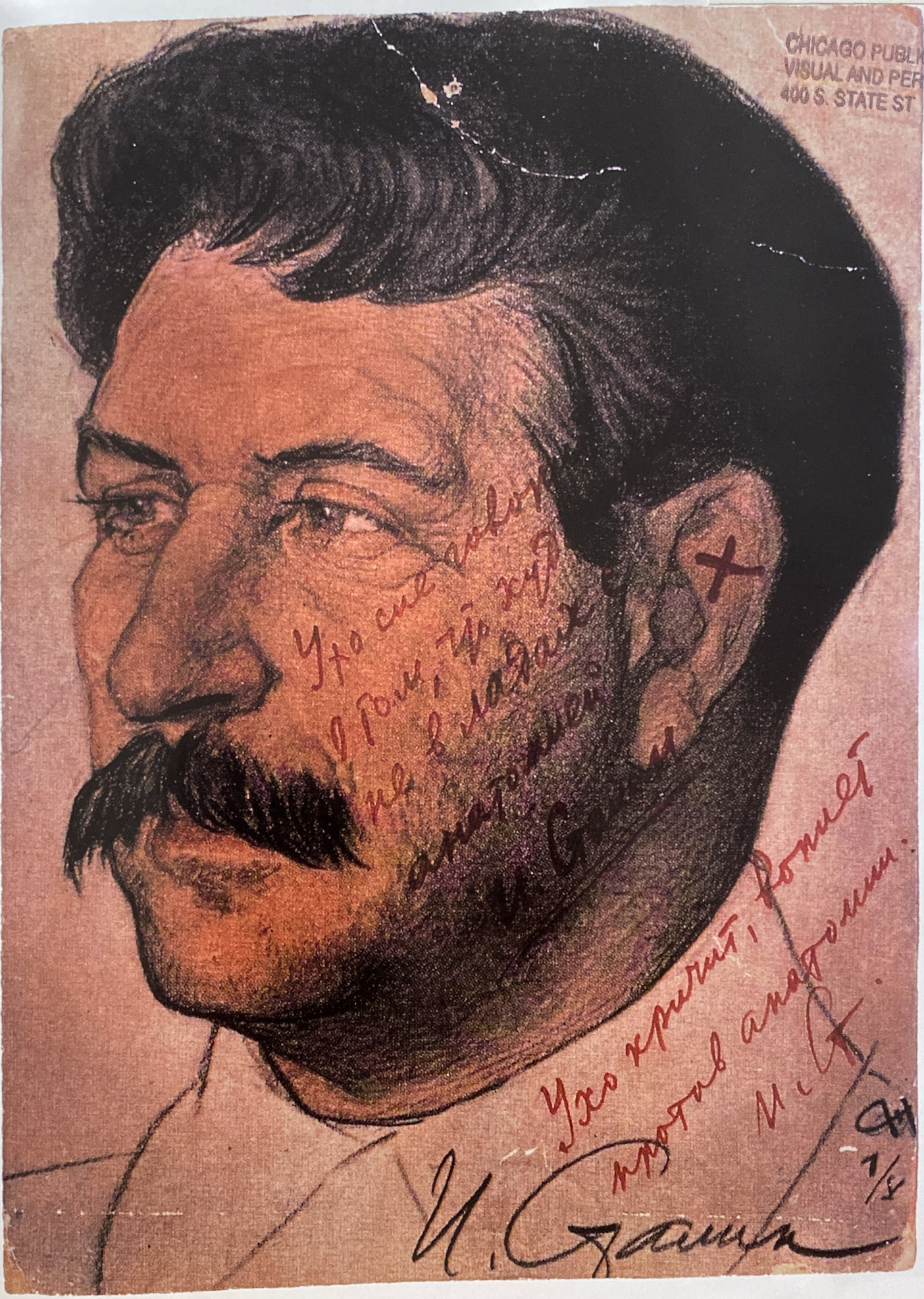


ИСКРА

PREFACE

Under Stalin's regime, which ruled the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1953, photographs lied. In David King's unique and revealing book, the same photographs, their original images restored, speak volumes of truth.

Stalinist censorship of photography was, of course, part of a much larger official purpose—the systematic falsification of history itself. From the mid-1930s, almost nothing of significance could be published, exhibited, or publicly uttered in the Soviet Union that failed to glorify every aspect of Stalin's leadership. The cult spanned the three defining chapters of Stalinism, each of which brought the deaths of millions of innocent people: his merciless "collectivization" war against the peasantry from 1929 to 1933; his murderous police terror against Communist officials and ordinary citizens that peaked in the late 1930s but continued until his death in 1953; and his catastrophic political and military maleficence before and after the German invasion in 1941.

Therein lay the calculus of falsification: The greater the Stalinist calamity inflicted on the nation, the more its architect needed to be extolled, and the less any alternatives could be admitted. Everything contrary to Stalin's cult was criminalized or expunged from history, especially all the non-Stalinist and insufficiently Stalinist Communists who had previously led the revolutionary party and new Soviet state. Thus, as David King shows us, were the commissars made to vanish. Why all this happened is still being passionately debated in Russia.

Nor did the consequences end with Stalin. Generations of Soviet children, now Russian adults, were taught his versions of history well into the 1980s. In the 1950s and early 1960s, Nikita Khrushchev, the first post-Stalin leader, did reveal part of the historical truth, but even that was largely re-falsified during the long reign of his successor, Leonid Brezhnev. Unlimited truth-telling began only in the late 1980s, when Mikhail Gorbachev unleashed a tidal wave of historical revelations in his attempt to de-Stalinize the Soviet system.

Considering the five decades of official falsification and zealous concealment, David King's book is heroic—the product of an immense, one-man archaeology. His thirty-year unearthing of pre-falsified Soviet photographs around the world has produced a legendary private collection long known to his many admirers, from history scholars in need of reliable photographs for their books to Hollywood filmmakers in search of visual authenticity. *The Commissar Vanishes* is only a representative sample of his collection, but it is ingeniously selected and presented to re-create a lost political world for both a specialist and general audience.

Readers will understand, I think, that behind all the suppressed and disfigured photographs lay countless family tragedies. They, too, linger on. Having written a biography of Nikolai Bukharin, a Soviet founding father tried and shot in 1938, I searched terror-era archives for years, urged on by his widow, Anna Larina, for even one of the many photographs taken of them in the 1920s and 1930s—without any success. Larina had lost everything when she was arrested shortly after Bukharin in 1937, and she died in 1996 without ever again seeing herself with her husband. Their son, Yuri Larin, who grew up in foster homes and orphanages, has never seen a photograph of his parents together.

A recent event, not unlike ones recounted by David King, saddened me even more. In the tenth year of our close friendship, the elderly daughter of a famous Soviet leader executed by Stalin suddenly handed me her mother's family album. As she studied my reaction intently, I opened the thick, leather-bound book, worn by decades of secrecy, with excitement. I expected to see unknown photographs of her father with other Communist luminaries of the pre-terror years. Some of them were there, at informal family gatherings, but her father had been crudely excised with scissors or a razor. Only his hand, shoulder, elbow, ear, or booted foot remained in a few photographs, left behind so as not to risk touching figures still in Stalin's favor.

I understood immediately that my friend's mother had done the mutilation. Overwhelmed by fear after the father's arrest, she had desperately tried to sanitize herself and her young daughter. My friend knew that I knew, but we spoke not a word about it. She had been devoted to her mother, who survived Stalin's Gulag and died at a very old age in 1989. The daughter kept her secret for sixty years. I interpreted her decision to show me the album as an act of trust. But I wished for her sake that her mother had spared at least one photograph, and that I could forget what I had seen.

Stephen F. Cohen, New York, April 1997

Opposite: "Comrade Stalin and Lado Ketskovali." Irin Shtenberg's quasi-religious drawing was made in 1939 as the Stalin cult reached its apotheosis. It shows the future "leader and teacher" (right) at the turn of the century with the man who is supposed to have taught him the principles of Marxism.

[redacted]

VKP (в) MQ Ortaasija вjurosinin 1924-nci jildan 1931-nsi jilgaca вolgan katiвi

INTRODUCTION

HEAVY SOVIET LOSSES

Like their counterparts in Hollywood, photographic retouchers in Soviet Russia spent long hours smoothing out the blemishes of imperfect complexions, helping the camera to falsify reality. Joseph Stalin's pockmarked face, in particular, demanded exceptional skills with the airbrush. But it was during the Great Purges, which raged in the late 1930s, that a new form of falsification emerged. The physical eradication of Stalin's political opponents at the hands of the secret police was swiftly followed by their obliteration from all forms of pictorial existence.

Photographs for publication were retouched and restructured with airbrush and scalpel to make once famous personalities vanish. Paintings, too, were often withdrawn from museums and art galleries so that compromising faces could be blocked out of group portraits. Entire editions of works by denounced politicians and writers were banished to the closed sections of the state libraries and archives or simply destroyed.

At the same time, a parallel industry came into full swing, glorifying Stalin as the "great leader and teacher of the Soviet people" through socialist realist paintings, monumental sculpture, and falsified photographs representing him as the only true friend, comrade, and successor to Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Revolution and founder of the USSR. The whole country was subjected to this charade of Stalin-worship.

Soviet citizens, fearful of the consequences of being caught in possession of material considered "anti-Soviet" or "counterrevolutionary," were forced to deface their own copies of books and photographs, often savagely attacking them with scissors or disfiguring them with India ink. There is hardly a publication from the Stalinist period that does not bear the scars of this political vandalism, a haunting example of which can be seen on the opposite page. The grim but not unusual story of the picture's unfortunate subject is worth studying in detail.

Isaak Abramovich Zelensky joined the Bolshevik Party in 1906 at the age of sixteen and took an active part in the October Revolution of 1917. In 1922 he was elected a full member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. As secretary of the Moscow Party organization, Zelensky served on the commission that arranged the burial of Lenin in 1924. In the fall of that year, however, Stalin attacked Zelensky for "insufficient hostility to Kamenev and Zinoviev," who were at that moment in opposition to the future dictator in the power struggle that followed Lenin's death. Zelensky was packed off to Tashkent for seven years to become secretary of the Central Asian Bureau but was recalled to Moscow in 1931 to run the state consumer distribution network. Zelensky was a conscientious, hardworking revolutionary turned party official, albeit one who, like many others, was deeply concerned about the advance of Stalinism.

In October 1937 Isaak Zelensky was arrested, on Stalin's orders, as an "enemy of the people." The state prosecutor of the time was the universally loathed and feared Andrei Yanuarievich Vyshinsky. Vyshinsky plumbed new depths of cruelty in the late 1930s, when he willingly acted as Stalin's mouthpiece in the three notorious Moscow show trials. At these trials he had many of the "Old Bolsheviks"—those who had created the Revolution that he never took part in—put to death. False confessions to ridiculous charges were extracted from the defendants by sadistic interrogators. Independent defense counsel was unheard of. Confession was sufficient to convict.

Opposite: Isaak Zelensky as he appeared in Alexander Rodchenko's copy of *Ten Years of Uzbekistan.*
Left: A detail from a composite of photographs published in 1928, showing Lenin in the center, flanked by Zelensky (left) and Stalin.

Soon Vyshinsky and Zelensky were to meet face-to-face as prosecutor and victim. The third and last Moscow show trial took place in the House of Trade Unions in March 1938, where Zelensky appeared alongside twenty other defendants, the most prominent of whom was Nikolai Bukharin. Vyshinsky accused Zelensky of having been a tsarist police agent since 1911. He was said to have used his position as head of the state distribution network to sabotage the distribution of food by "spoiling" fifty truckloads of eggs, as well as "throwing nails and broken glass into the masses' butter with a view to undermining Soviet health." With most of his co-defendants, Zelensky was sentenced to death and shot. For his endeavors at the trials, Vyshinsky was rewarded by Stalin with a seat on the Central Committee.

The haunting image of Zelensky's defaced photograph (as seen on page 8) surfaced nearly half a century later. One night in 1984, I made my way up Kirov Street, which was ill-lit even by Moscow standards, to the studio of Alexander Rodchenko. An archway led into a claustrophobic courtyard hemmed in by several tenement blocks. The studio was situated on the tenth story of one of these, and there was no elevator. I began the long climb up.

Rodchenko was one of the heroes of Russian art, design, and photography from the avant-garde period at the time of the Revolution until the late 1930s. He was married to the equally gifted artist and designer Varvara Stepanova. During the 1920s their studio served as the editorial offices of *Lef* magazine, an arts journal under the editorship of the revolutionary poet Vladimir Mayakovsky.

Rodchenko died in 1956. Three generations of his family continue to reside in the apartment, and by 1984 very little had changed. Paintings by the master leaned against the walls as if he had just finished working on them. The dim light of naked bulbs cast dense shadows from tall cupboards and bookcases. The same dust, Rodchenko's dust, occupied the same crevices and the tops of the same books. I was there to see the books—strangely, the first person to have asked to see them.

Rodchenko had divided his working life in the 1930s between photography and his remarkable output of book and magazine design. Huge photographic albums, with titles like *First Cavalry* and *Red Army,* lined the bookshelves of the Kirov Street studio, side by side with pioneering photo-graphics for special issues of the famous magazine *USSR in Construction.* But one book stood out from the others. It was called *Ten Years of Uzbekistan.*

Looking inside Rodchenko's copy of *Ten Years of Uzbekistan* was like opening the door onto the scene of a terrible crime. A major purge of the Uzbek leadership by Stalin in 1937, three years after the book's publication, meant that many of the official portraits of Party functionaries in the album had to be destroyed. The concept of "personal responsibility" had been forced on the whole country by the Stalinists during a vast campaign of vigilance against the regime's enemies. The names of those who had been arrested or had "disappeared" could no longer be mentioned, nor could their pictures be kept without the greatest risk of arrest. Petty informers were everywhere. The walls really did have ears.

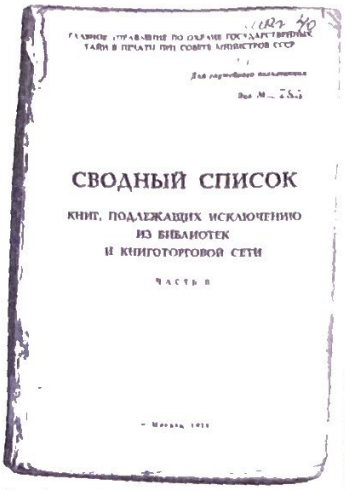
Rodchenko's response in brush and ink came close to creating a new art form, a graphic reflection of the real fate of the victims. For example, the notorious secret-police torturer Yakov Peters (page 133) had suffered an ethereal, Rothko-like extinction. The face of party functionary Akmal Ikramov, veiled in ink, had become a terrifying apparition (page 129). And there, suffering a second death, was Isaak Zelensky, his face wiped out in one great blob and his name obliterated in the caption beneath.

This defacing, forced upon Rodchenko, is only one example among thousands of similar actions from the Great Terror and beyond. The libraries of the former Soviet Union still bear these scars of "vigilant" political vandalism. Many volumes—political, cultural, or scientific—published in the first two decades of Soviet rule had whole chapters ripped out by the censors. Reproductions of photographs of future "enemies of the people" were attacked with disturbing violence. In schools across the country, children were actively engaged by their teachers in the "creative" removal of the denounced from their textbooks. A collective paranoia stretched right through the period of Soviet rule.

Huge numbers of publications were banned from the bookshelves altogether. For example, one directive, issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on March 7, 1935, ordered the removal of Leon Trotsky's works from libraries throughout the Soviet Union. This ban continued until the late 1980s, but sometime in between it was toughened up to include even some *anti-*Trotsky material. Publications with titles like *Trotskyists: Enemies of the People* and *Trotskyist-Bukharinist Bandits* also became proscribed reading.

The censors published an extraordinary volume entitled *Summary List of Books Not Available in Libraries and the Book Trade Network.* It contained hundreds of pages in small print, "for official use only," listing alphabetically the publications that were banned. A friend of mine, the manager of an antiquarian bookshop in Leningrad in the 1960s, told me that he remembered well the twice-monthly visits of a matronly lady from the censorship bureau, who spent hours rifling through the thousands of books on his shelves, checking them against her latest copy of the *Summary List* (which was always being updated). Those volumes found to be unacceptable were put in a special garbage can at the back of the store.

Opposite: Lenin (center) flanked by Lev Kamenev (left) and Grigorii Zinoviev (right), with delegates to a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in Moscow, October 31, 1922. What makes the photograph remarkable is the presence of Andrei Vyshinsky (center, below Lenin, with three white buttons on the collar of his black shirt), who had been a member of the Bolshevik Party for less than two years. During the next two decades, Vyshinsky would have most of these comrades put to death.



Far left: An edition of the *Summary List*, published in 1973. *Left:* A report on the famous Shakhti trial of engineers in 1928. The introduction was written by Vyshinsky. Cover design by Rodchenko.

There were three possible destinations for this "garbage." The happiest one was when rare and interesting volumes found their way quietly into the many fabulous private libraries assembled, sometimes at great personal risk, by bibliophiles or lovers of history. The unhappiest destination was the shredder. So many beautifully produced books and rare manuscripts ended up there during the 1960s because of the boorish campaign of *Makulatura* (book pulping). Ostensibly due to a shortage of newsprint, a system was introduced whereby old books and papers would be weighed and exchanged at a fixed rate for a few rubles or, say, a new copy of an officially approved novel. The heavier the book, the greater the value. This is why many of the giant photographic and graphic albums published in Russia during the 1920s and 1930s are now so scarce.

The third route for material that was considered a threat to Soviet rule led to the official archives. These archives served a dual purpose for the state. The first was to preserve, the second to banish. Sound recordings, the printed word, movie footage, photographs, paintings, drawings and posters, personal effects—any trace of the "disappeared"—vanished into the "closed sections." Whatever the state considered undesirable was withdrawn from view. In Stalin's time, this was a monumental task. Inquiries were met, after hours of waiting, with deflected answers, a shrug of the shoulders, or a harsh "Not possible!"

My first encounter with the open sections of the photographic archives in Moscow took place in the exceptionally bitter Russian winter of 1970, seventeen years after Stalin's death. When I inquired about photographs of Trotsky, the reply would invariably be, "Why do you ask for Trotsky? Trotsky not important in Revolution. Stalin important!" In the dark green metal boxes containing mug shots of subjects starting with "T" were hundreds of photographs of famous Russians: Tolstoy, Turgenev, etc.—but no Trotsky. They had completely wiped him out. It was at this moment that I determined to start my collection.

Nearly three decades later the collection has grown into a working library that documents visually every important aspect of Soviet history, with particular reference to alternatives to Stalinism. Where did all this material come from? Initially from the Soviet Union itself. The worldwide dissemination of photographs and printed matter through the Communist International was a major objective of the Soviet propaganda machine in the 1920s and 1930s. Vast amounts of material reached the West in those times and can still be found even today. With the relaxation by Gorbachev of foreign travel restrictions for Russians in the 1980s, large numbers of books, photographs, and other documents, hidden for many years, arrived in the West. But it is worth pointing out that it is still an offense under Russian law to export almost anything without official permission, except recent publications.

So much falsification took place during the Stalin years that it is possible to tell the story of the Soviet era through retouched photographs. That is the purpose of this book. The photographs are displayed chronologically, at the time they were taken, rather than when they were doctored. The altered versions are usually shown alongside the originals, or on the following pages. A number of key unfalsified photographs and documents are also included to explain important moments in the story. Paintings, graphics, and other examples of Stalinist hero worship appear, as well. Only the most interesting and varied images from a political, cultural, and of course visual point of view are presented here. New examples of falsification are always coming to light. A photograph might appear strange, as a result of heavy retouching. To find the original might take years—and often does. The search continues.

Left: Embossed-metal cover for a 1939 biography of Stalin, based on Sergei Merkurov's 100-foot-tall granite sculpture, which stood at the entrance to the Moscow-Volga canal.

Photographic retouching for publication in books, magazines, and newspapers in Russia started as early as 1917 but did not reach a grand scale until 1935, in the wake of the terror that followed the assassination of Leningrad Party chief Sergei Kirov. No single skyscraper existed where legions of Stakhanovite airbrushers, montagists, and scissormen would labor through the darkest hours of the night, slavishly fulfilling their work norms for some glowering Ministry of Falsification. Rather, photographic manipulation worked very much on an ad hoc basis. Orders were followed, quietly. A word in an editor's ear or a discreet telephone conversation from a "higher authority" was sufficient to eliminate all further reference—visual or literal—to a victim, no matter how famous she or he had been.

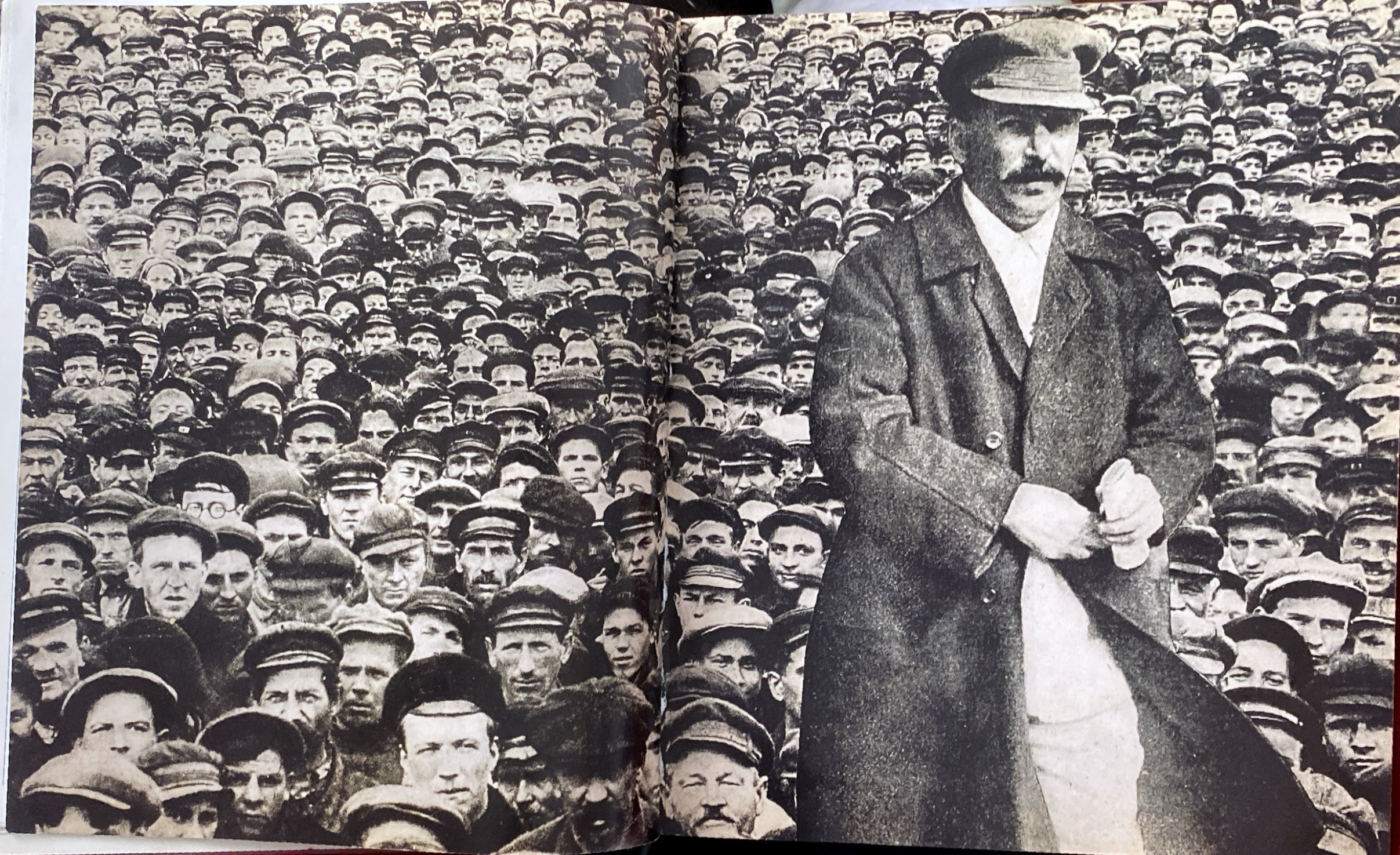
Faking photographs was probably considered one of the more enjoyable tasks for the art department of publishing houses during those times. It was certainly much subtler than the "slash-and-burn" approach of the censors. For example, with a sharp scalpel, an incision could be made along the leading edge of the image of the person or object adjacent to the one who had to be removed. With the help of some glue, the first could simply be stuck down on top of the second. A little paint or ink was then carefully brushed around the cut edges and background of the picture to hide the joins. Likewise, two or more photographs could be cannibalized into one using the same method. Alternatively, an airbrush (an ink-jet gun powered by a cylinder of compressed air) could be used to spray clouds of ink or paint onto the unfortunate victim in the picture. The hazy edges achieved by the spray made the elimination of the subject less noticeable than crude knifework.

Many photographic deletions were not the result of retouching at all but of straightforward cropping. Art departments have always cropped photographs on aesthetic grounds, but in the Soviet Union cropping was also used with political objectives in mind. The subtraction of Stalin's enemies, and even some of his friends, was one problem, but for the General Secretary, addition—the addition of himself—was another. From the time of his birth in 1879 until he was appointed General Secretary in 1922, there probably exist fewer than a dozen photographs of him. For a man who claimed to be the standard-bearer of the Communist movement, this caused grave embarrassment, which could only be overcome by painting and sculpture. Impressionism, expressionism, abstraction—for Stalin, none of these artistic movements was capable of showing his image properly. So he made realism—socialist realism—the central foundation of the Stalin cult. A whole art industry painted Stalin into places and events where he had never been, glorifying him, mythologizing him. Sculpture worked well for him, too. The bronze Stalin, the marble Stalin, were invulnerable to the bullets of the "Zinovievite bandits." The flesh and blood Stalin could safely stay out of the public gaze. Sculpture became the real Stalin—heavy, ponderous, immortal.

Skillful photographic retouching for reproduction depended, like any craft before the advent of computer technology, on the skill of the person carrying out the task and the time she or he had to complete it. But why was the standard of retouching in Soviet books and journals often so crude? Did the Stalinists want their readers to see that elimination had taken place, as a fearful and ominous warning? Or could the slightest trace of an almost vanished commissar, deliberately left behind by the retoucher, become a ghostly reminder that the repressed might yet return?

David King, London, 1997

Overleaf: "Stalin and the Masses," 1930, published in a book entitled *Udarniki* (*Shockworkers*). The figure of Stalin is clearly photomontaged onto the picture of the masses. But the masses themselves are also montaged; close inspection reveals that some sections of the crowd appear three times.



A meeting of the St. Petersburg Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class in February 1897. Shortly after the photograph was taken, the whole group, which had been founded by Lenin and Yuli Martov, was arrested by the Okhrana (tsarist secret police) and sentenced to three years' exile in Siberia. When Martov died from tuberculosis in 1923, exiled in Berlin, he was publicly mourned by the Bolsheviks as their "most sincere and selfless opponent."
Left to right, standing: Alexander Malchenko, Petr Zaporozhets, Anatolii Vanayev. Seated: V. V. Starkov, Gleb Krzhyzhanovsky, Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin), and Yuli Martov.

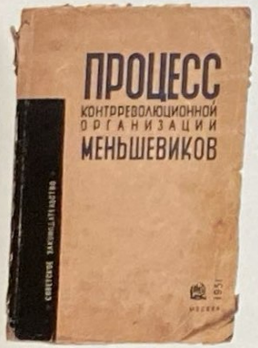
Martov survives in this version of the photograph, published in 1939, but Malchenko (standing on the left in the original) has disappeared. At the time the picture was taken, he was an engineering student, and his mother sometimes sheltered Lenin from the St. Petersburg police. Returning from exile in 1900, Malchenko seems to have abandoned revolutionary politics. He moved to Moscow, where he worked as a senior engineer in various state departments after the Revolution. In 1929 he was arrested, wrongfully accused of being a "wrecker," and executed on November 18, 1930. For nearly thirty years, Malchenko was airbrushed out of the photograph whenever it was reproduced. He was rehabilitated in 1958, at which point his presence was allowed to reappear.

A GHOSTLY PILLAR

Right: A game of chess in Capri, Italy, April 1908. Lenin was spending a week's vacation with the writer Maxim Gorky (center, hand on chin), who supported the Bolsheviks and lived in exile on the island from 1906 to 1913.

From left to right, standing: Vladimir Bazarov, Gorky, Zinovii Peshkov, Natalya Bogdanova. Seated: Ivan Ladyzhnikov, Lenin, and Alexander Bogdanov.

Several of those pictured here would later come into conflict with Lenin or Stalin. Gorky opposed the seizure of power in 1917 and formed a non-Bolshevik left-wing group. Bazarov, a former Bolshevik theoretician turned Menshevik, joined the group and wrote articles criticizing the Bolsheviks' plans for insurrection. A mild and yielding personality, Bazarov was arrested and tried with other Mensheviks in an infamous trial in 1931. He was shot in 1937. Zinovii Peshkov (behind Gorky and Bogdanova) was the elder brother of Yakov Sverdlov, the first head of the new Bolshevik state following the October 1917 Revolution. Peshkov became a Jewish convert to Christianity. He looked upon Gorky as a father figure and even took his name (Gorky's real name was Alexei Maximovich Peshkov). Zinovii Peshkov emigrated to France and became a high-ranking officer in World War I, losing an arm at Verdun. Following a spell in the French Foreign Legion, he became a military adviser to Chiang Kai-shek in China in the 1930s. He made friends with General de Gaulle and worked in the Deuxième Bureau (the French secret service) after the war. He died in France in 1966, aged eighty-two.



Lenin's chess opponent in the photograph, the Bolshevik Alexander Bogdanov, was soon to become his political opponent, too. A year later, in 1909, Bogdanov cofounded a school in Capri proposing socialism as a kind of religious experience—a "religion of labor." Lenin's response was "frenzied with indignation." He had Bogdanov expelled from the Bolshevik Party. After 1917 Bogdanov's ideas on proletarian culture (Proletcult) became highly influential. He was arrested for a short time in 1923 as a member of the Workers' Opposition. He founded the first blood-transfusion clinic in the Soviet Union, but died in 1928 as a result of an unsuccessful experiment on himself. In the photograph, his wife Natalya stands behind him. Gorky noted that Lenin, who lost the game, "grew angry and despondent."

Left: Cover of the report on the "Trial of the Counterrevolutionary Organizations of Mensheviks," Moscow, 1931.

Above: Two years after his execution, Vladimir Bazarov was cut off and airbrushed out of the left-hand side of the photograph on the previous page, when it appeared in a giant album entitled *Lenin* (Moscow 1939). Also erased was Zinovii Peshkov, who had been standing behind Maxim Gorky and Natalya Bogdanova.

Opposite: In this version of the picture, which was published in 1960 by the Moscow Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Peshkov has been allowed to reappear. Bazarov is still missing, his place taken by a ghostly pillar. There is no explanation for the appearance, disappearance, and reappearance of a woman's skirted knee in the foreground of the three versions of the photograph.

SUMMER IN SIBERIA

Stalin attending a meeting of Bolshevik exiles in Monastyrskoye village, Turukhansk, Siberia, in the summer of 1915, two years before the Revolution. The Bolsheviks had convened this conference to discuss the trial of their five members of the Fourth State Duma (parliament), who had the previous winter been arrested and exiled for protesting against World War I. Standing in the back row are Suren Spandarian (second from left), Stalin (wearing wide-brimmed black hat), Lev Kamenev (with mustache), Grigorii Petrovsky (hat and beard), Yakov Sverdlov (beard and white shirt), and Filipp Goloshchekin (leather jacket). Seated left to right are Fedor Samoilov, Vera Schweitzer (Spandarian's wife), Alexei Badaev, and Nikolai Shagov.

Stalin's gruff and monosyllabic approach contributed little to the conference, in contrast to the spirited and combative Armenian Marxist Spandarian, who died of a severe illness a year later. In 1937 his widow, writing her memoirs of the time, was made to exaggerate Stalin's role in exile and play down that of her late husband.

Stalin had been in exile in the Turukhansk region since 1913 without once making an attempt to escape. He astonished his fellow deportees there by his total lack of principles, his slyness, and his exceptional cruelty.

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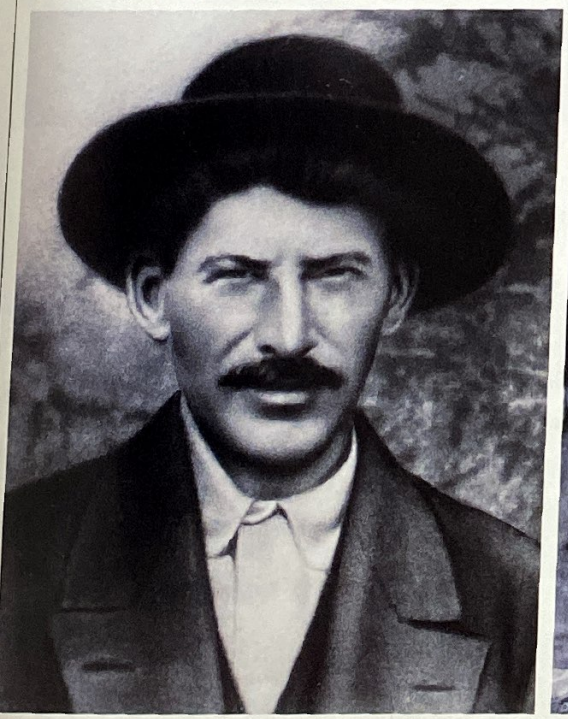
Another print (*above*) of the previous photograph, found in the Central State Archives in Moscow, obliterates Kamenev from the center of the picture. Kamenev and his friend Grigorii Zinoviev had been among Lenin's closest lieutenants in spite of condemning the impending October Revolution as an "act of despair." After Lenin's death in 1924, Kamenev was expelled several times from the party, and spent a period of exile in Siberia. He was sentenced to five years in jail in 1935 following the assassination of Stalin's designated successor, Sergei Kirov. He was retried in the first Moscow trial of August 1936, sentenced, and shot. Both his wives—he had first been married to Trotsky's sister, Olga Davidovna—and his two eldest sons were also killed in the purges.

Opposite: Another version of this photograph (*top*) was reproduced in the giant commemorative album *Stalin* published in 1939 to celebrate the tyrant's sixtieth birthday. This time five more members of the group have been replaced by vegetation, fencing, and a better view of the log cabin.

Only Stalin remains (*below left*) in this soft-focus, cropped version of the original photograph when it appeared in another portfolio of 1939, also called *Stalin.*

Never published by the Soviet regime, an alternative and unretouched photograph from the same group (*below right*) lay in the Central State Archives for seventy-five years.



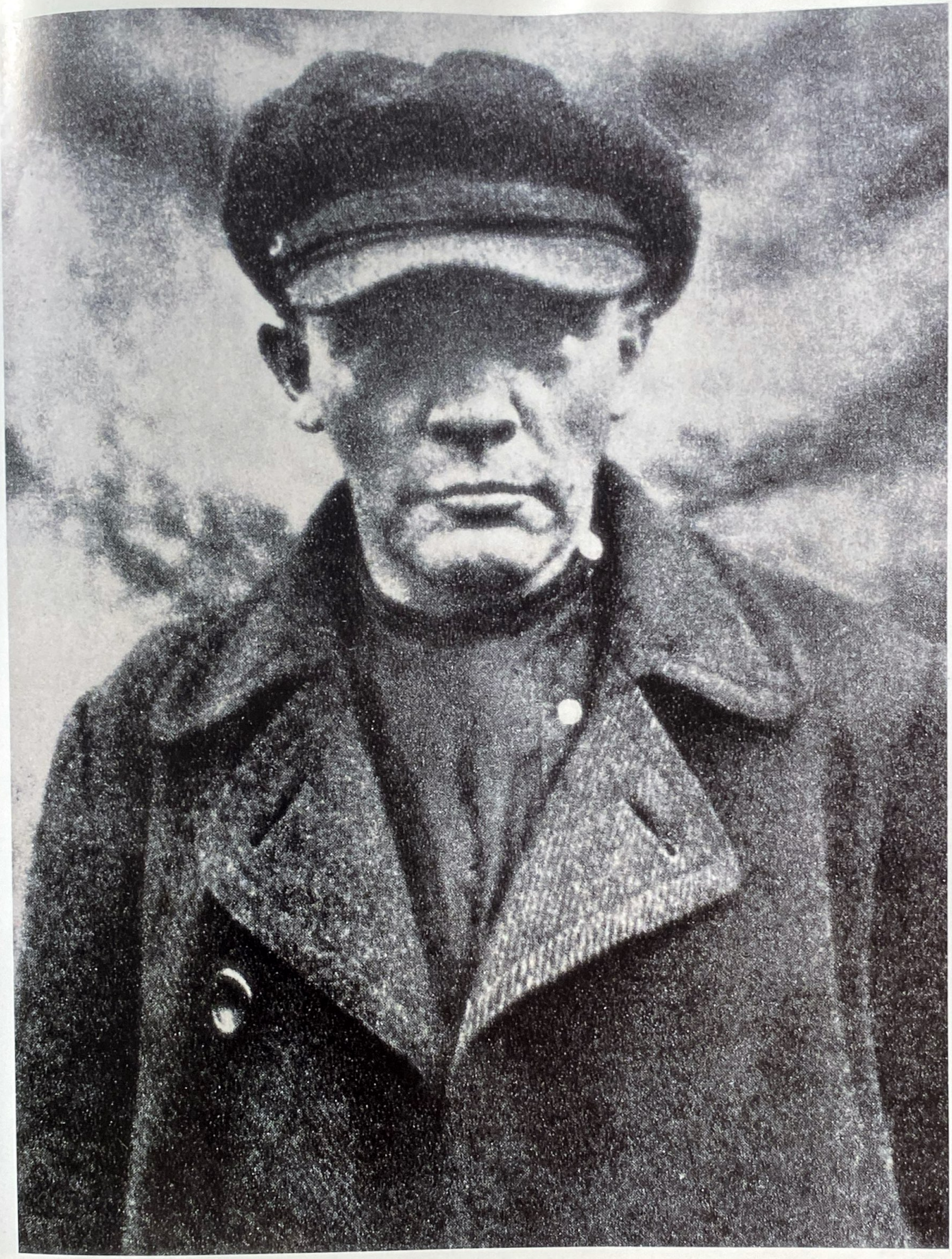
Top: Soldiers demonstrating in the Liteiny Prospekt during the first days of the February Revolution, Petrograd, 1917. Thousands of souvenir postcards like this one were published during the great upheavals of 1917. In the background can be seen a jeweler's shop with its signboard, "Watches—gold and silver." The slogan on the soldier's flag is almost illegible. *Above:* The same photograph, also published as a postcard in the same year, but now the jeweler's signboard has been crudely replaced with the slogan "Struggle for Your Rights!" The soldier's flag has been transformed from black to white and reads "Down with the Monarchy—Long Live the Republic!"

LENIN IN DISGUISE

This famous and unusually glamorous photograph of Lenin (*below*) in the disguise of a farm laborer, with wig and without beard, was taken at the Razliv Station on the Gulf of Finland, July 29, 1917. Lenin was on the run from Kerensky's secret police and needed the photograph for a passport to enter Finland. He lived with Zinoviev in a hut belonging to a worker called Nikolai Emelianov in a field near the station for most of that July. It was here that he wrote his tour de force *State and Revolution*, a strategy for the destruction of all bourgeois institutions. In 1927 the humble fisherman's hut was rebuilt as a granite shrine. Helping Lenin during the Revolution did not guarantee longevity, however. Emelianov's whole family was arrested in 1935, his two

eldest sons were shot and he spent the next twenty years in the Gulag (forced-labor camps).

Opposite: Another photograph taken at the same time as the one above shows Lenin in a far less flattering light and seems to have slipped into print only once, in a book called *Lenin and the Art of Photography.*



A GRAY BLUR

The huge reception organized by the Bolsheviks for Lenin on his return to Russia on the night of April 16, 1917, was graphically described by the distinguished chronicler of the Russian Revolution, Nikolai Sukhanov. "The worldwide socialist revolution has already dawned!" Lenin told the crowd as a thunderous "Marseillaise" was struck up by a band at the Finland Station in Petrograd.

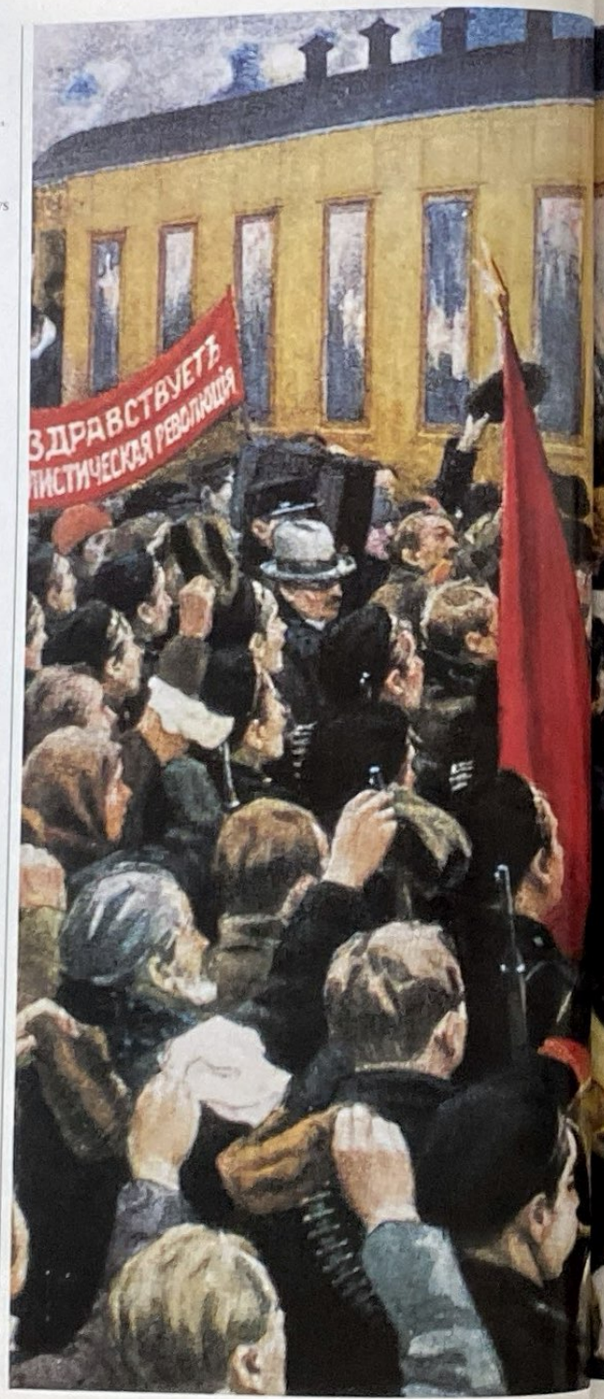
Mikhail Sokolov's painting (*right*), made twenty years later, draws heavily on Sukhanov's eye-witness account of the momentous occasion, but is flawed by one glaring inaccuracy: the figure of Stalin in the doorway of the train, behind Lenin. Stalin did not travel on the train with Lenin, nor was he delegated by the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet to meet him at the station. That task had been given to the Presidium, of which Stalin was not a member.

Sukhanov described Stalin's activity in 1917 as "a gray blur, dimly looming up now and again but not leaving any trace." Years later, at the height of his power, Stalin felt the need to rectify this most embarrassing image problem. He mobilized an army of propagandists, artists, and writers to fabricate material depicting him as the decisive organizer of the Revolution, Lenin's closest collaborator and natural successor, a great orator, and an invincible commander in the Civil War. Meanwhile Sukhanov was arrested in 1931 by the OGPU (secret police), released, and then rearrested in 1939. He died in the Gulag in 1940.

Below: The editors of the famous Russian newsmagazine *Ogonyek* didn't regard the October Revolution as important enough at the time to feature it on their cover, although it was extensively reported inside. Postrevolutionary puritanism ensured that the cover did not see the light of day again. This copy was found in London.

Overleaf, left-hand page: Evgenii Kibrik's odious contribution to Stalinist falsification in art, perpetrated in charcoal in 1947, was entitled "Lenin Arrives at the Smolny during the Night of October 24." The Smolny Institute in Petrograd was the headquarters of the Bolsheviks during the October Revolution. It was from here that Trotsky, as chairman of the Military Revolutionary Committee, directed the insurrection. Stalin was not even there at the time.

Overleaf, right-hand page: In a steel engraving from 1936 by Petr Staronosov, who fittingly became known for his insipid illustrations of fairy tales, a confident Stalin is shown in front of a giant map planning the rout of the counterrevolutionary White armies. Lenin can only look on in dumb bewilderment.



СТАРОНОСОВ

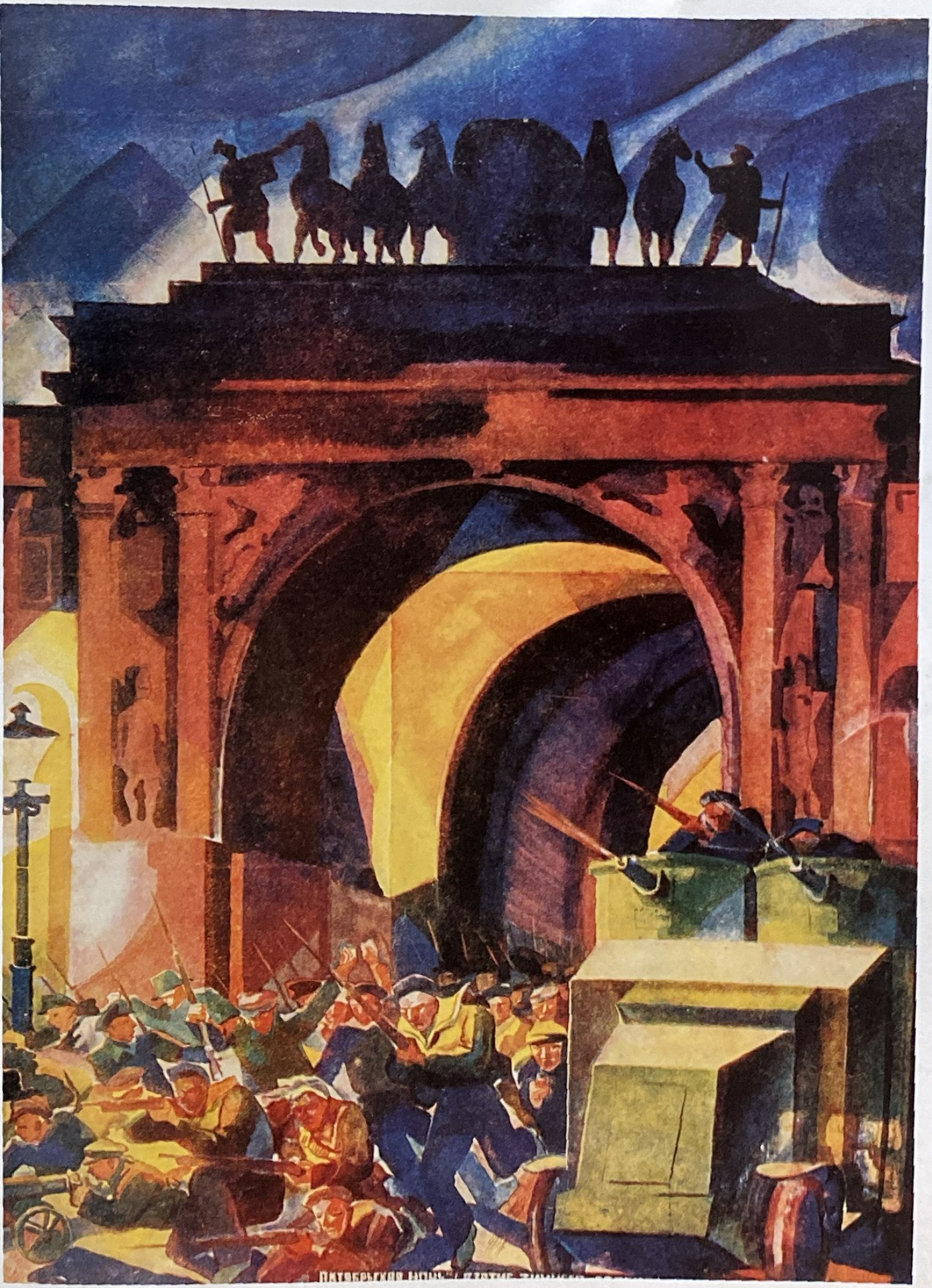
PROBLEMS OF PROPAGANDA

Lenin understood well the power of the motion picture for propaganda purposes, and from its earliest days Soviet cinema was highly regarded throughout the world. But there was a lack of documentary footage covering the major revolutionary events. The 1905 and 1917 revolutions went largely unrecorded. Film stock was in short supply. Cameras were unwieldy. Slow film speeds made dramatic movement at night difficult to capture.

The two famous photographs (*left*), which became icons of the revolutionary era not only in the Soviet Union but also in the West, are both falsifications. The photograph (*top*) ostensibly depicts the events of January 9, 1905, when a priest called Father Gapon led thousands of peaceful demonstrators through the streets of St. Petersburg to the Winter Palace to petition Tsar Nicholas II for a constitution. They were met by a hail of bullets. Hundreds were killed and wounded. "Bloody Sunday" sparked off a year of revolt against the autocracy. In reality, no cameras were at the scene. The picture is a still taken from a 1925 feature film directed by Vyacheslav Viskovsky, entitled *The Ninth of January*.

Likewise, the dramatic photograph (*bottom*) passed into history as a record of the storming of the Winter Palace in October 1917. In fact, neither footage nor photographs exist of the "storming," as it took place at night and with a certain amount of stealth. This photograph is actually of one of the many annual street-theater reenactments staged by the Bolsheviks. Artists like Yuri Annenkov and Natan Altman were commissioned to help stage-manage the proceedings.

Feature-film directors often ran into trouble with Stalin, who from the mid-1920s closely followed all their productions. Sergei Eisenstein's masterpiece *October* had been commissioned to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Revolution. A special preview was screened for Stalin, who immediately ordered all references to Trotsky excluded from the film, which had to be heavily reedited. Stills from the film became a great source of "documentary" photographs. *Opposite:* "October Night," the 1917 Revolution glamorized in paint by the artist Rudolf Frentz. Made before 1932, the work is more expressionistic than the socialist realist style that was to follow.



EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION

N. Tolkunov's painting *Handing over to F. E. Dzerzhinsky the Resolution of the Soviet of People's Commissars on December 7, 1917, for the organization of the Cheka* is a classic example of 1950s socialist realism. The subject matter glorifies a hierarchical leadership, and the nineteenth-century style of painting leaves no room for creative expression or development. Whether or not the puffed-up figure of Stalin (third from the left) was present at that fateful moment is unknown, as Lenin's new secret police was born in secret and only admitted to in 1958. Initially Dzerzhinsky packed the Cheka (the acronym stands for "Extraordinary Commission to Fight Counterrevolution and Sabotage") with non-Russians, especially Latvians, who were considered disciplined and not at all squeamish. The seated figure is Yakov Sverdlov, first head of the Bolshevik state. Sverdlov died of pneumonia in Moscow in March 1919. Years later, his private safe in the Kremlin was unlocked by the NKVD to reveal, puzzlingly, a horde of gold, silver, diamonds, and faked passports. Sverdlov also left a son, André, who joined the NKVD under Lavrentii Beria and became one of the most vicious interrogators during the purges at the end of the 1930s.

Opposite: Moisei Nappelbaum's portrait of Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky, 1919.

ВСѢМ СОВѢТАМ

РАБОЧИХ. КРЕСТ., КРАСНОАРМ. ДЕПУТ.

TERRIBLE RETRIBUTION

An unretouched photograph of Lenin (*right*) leaving a meeting of the First All-Russian Congress on Education in Moscow, August 28, 1918. Two days later, also in Moscow, he was gunned down while leaving a meeting of factory workers. He was severely wounded in the neck and arm. This was the last photograph taken of Lenin before he was shot.

A Socialist Revolutionary (SR), Fanya Kaplan (*top left*), was arrested for the crime. "I shot Lenin because I believe him to be a traitor . . . he postpones the idea of socialism for decades to come," she is said to have told her interrogators.

The official announcement of the attempted assassination, in the form of a broadsheet poster (*center left*), was written by Yakov Sverdlov. It is dated August 30, 1918, at 10:40 P.M. and blames "Right-wing SRs, hirelings of the English and French," although the suspect's interrogation had yet to begin. It goes on, "The working class will respond to attempts against its leaders with even greater consolidation of its forces, with merciless mass terror against all the enemies of the Revolution."

Some hours before the attempt on Lenin's life, the head of the Petrograd Cheka, Moisei Uritsky, was assassinated. Although these attacks were later found to be unconnected, they brought terrible retribution from the Bolsheviks in the form of the Red Terror. Hundreds of suspects were rounded up and shot. A senior Chekist, Yakov Peters, who led the interrogation of Fanya Kaplan, stated, "Anyone who knows the meaning of Red Terror will grow pale." Peters himself later suffered at the hands of the GPU.

The order was given for Kaplan to be shot without trial. The Kremlin commandant Pavel Malkov (*bottom left*) was directed to carry out the order. Years later Malkov proclaimed: "The execution of a person, especially a woman, was no easy matter. It was a heavy, very heavy responsibility." Malkov was given instructions to shoot Kaplan in a parking lot with an automobile engine running to drown out the screams. The body was to be disposed of without a trace. The order was carried out at 4 A.M. on the morning of September 4, 1918.

Doubt has recently been cast about whether Kaplan really was guilty, since her extremely poor eyesight would have made her a rather unlikely assassin.

IS IT A PLANE?

Lenin's first public appearance after the attempt on his life was to attend the unveiling of a memorial to Marx and Engels in Revolution Square, Moscow, on November 7, 1918. The unretouched photograph of this event (*right*) was only published in full in 1970.

A retouched version (*above*) was published in the 1930s, confusingly captioned "V. I. Lenin, Y. M. Sverdlov, and V. A. Avanesov watching the flight of an airplane at a demonstration on November 7, 1918." Varlam Avanesov, a high-ranking officer in the Cheka, had two months previously given the order for Fanya Kaplan to be shot without trial.

Another retouched version (*top*) of the original picture was published in 1939 by the Central Lenin Museum in a folder of photographs on the life of Lenin. Avanesov, who died in 1930, has now disappeared from view, leaving only Lenin and Sverdlov.

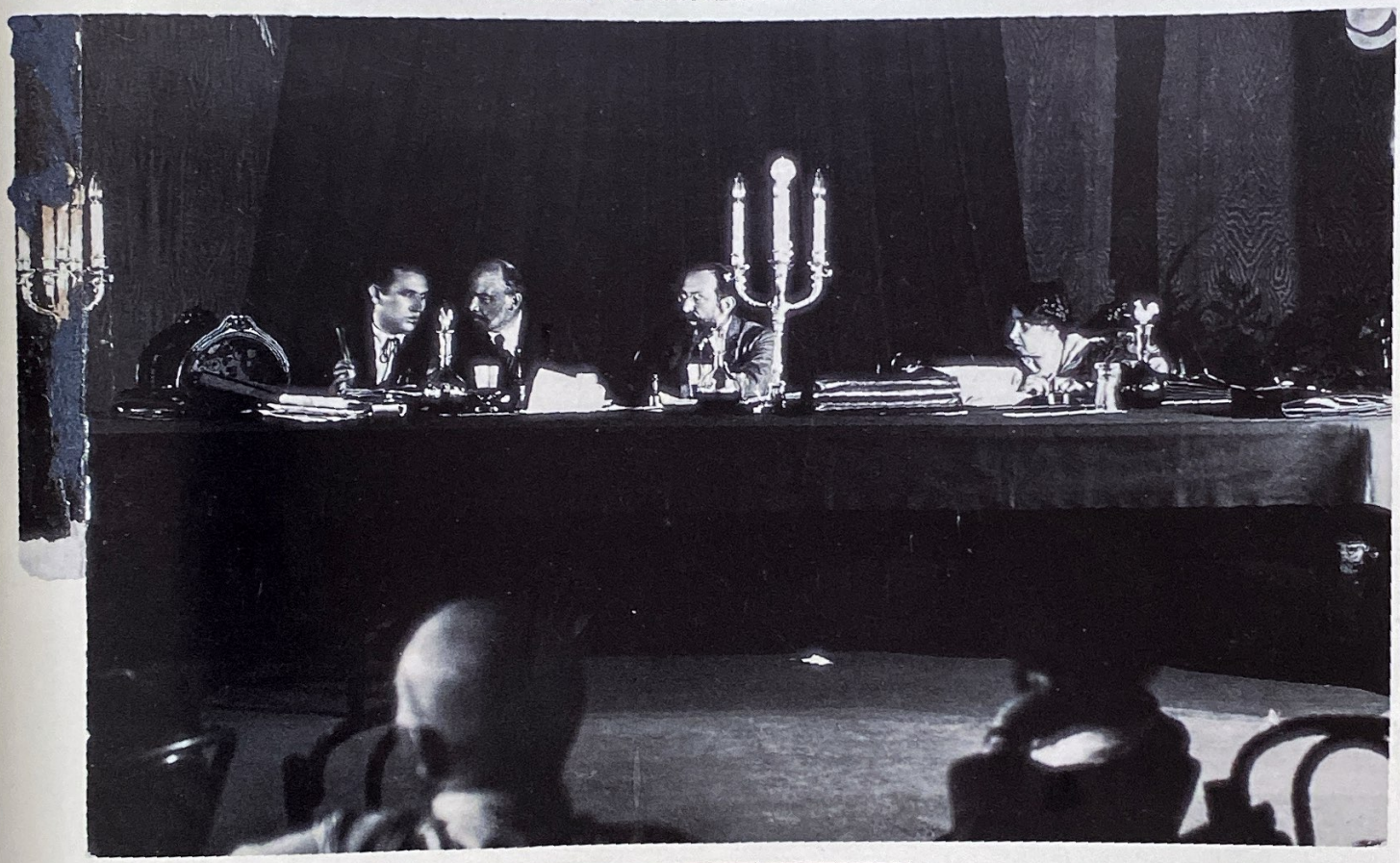
LENIN'S MAD DOG

Grigorii Zinoviev (*opposite*, holding hat) is shown seated next to Yakov Sverdlov (striped tie) with delegates to the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Petrograd, July 1918. Zinoviev has been defaced, as an enemy of the people, in this photograph, which was recently found in Soviet archives.

Although he was regarded by the Mensheviks before the Revolution as "Lenin's mad dog," Zinoviev objected, along with Lev Kamenev, to the policy of armed insurrection in October 1917. "Traitors and strikebreakers of the revolution," Lenin called them. After Uritsky's assassination and Lenin's close call, Zinoviev, as chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, was thrown into blind panic. He feared that the end of the revolution was at hand and responded with terrible cruelty against "bourgeois elements." Launching the Red Terror in Petrograd, he declared: "We must carry along with us 90 million out of the 100 million of Soviet Russia's inhabitants. As for the rest, we have nothing to say to them. They must be annihilated."

Zinoviev was expelled from the Communist Party in 1927 for his opposition to Stalin and was twice exiled. He was one of the chief defendants in the Moscow show trials and was shot in 1936.

The woman in the white hat is Rosa Berzina. She was the wife of the prominent Latvian Communist Yan Antonovich Berzin, who held a number of ambassadorial posts in the 1920s. Berzina's exact fate is unknown, but her husband died in the Gulag in 1938.



GROSS VILIFICATION

As well as being dictator of Petrograd and the whole of northwestern Russia, Grigorii Zinoviev was head of the Comintern (Communist International) from 1919 until 1926. He is seen (*above*) in tense discussion with Lenin on the world-revolutionary situation at a meeting in the Moscow Kremlin in 1920. On the right of the picture can be seen Giacinto Serrati and Angelica Balabanova. Serrati, the Italian socialist leader, was sympathetic to the Communists but objected to their splitting his party for their own ends. He was met with a terrible campaign of vilification and expelled from the Comintern. Balabanova came to Serrati's defense. Zinoviev later justified Serrati's treatment by saying, "We have fought and slandered him because of his great merits. It would not have been possible to alienate the masses from him without resorting to these means." Balabanova emigrated in 1921.

Left: When the same photograph was published in Moscow fifty years later, Zinoviev and Balabanova had gone, leaving only Lenin, Serrati, and the candlestick.

LENIN'S HOLY STATUS

Right: A photograph of the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) taken to record the return to work of its president, Lenin, following the assassination attempt two months earlier. His survival in the face of death gave him mythic, almost holy, status among his supporters. The picture was taken in the Moscow Kremlin on October 17, 1918, by Petr Otsup, one of the foremost reportage photographers of the revolutionary period. Many of Lenin's comrades in the photograph, including Leon Trotsky (seen at the back of the room with light reflecting from his spectacles), were subsequently killed by Stalin.

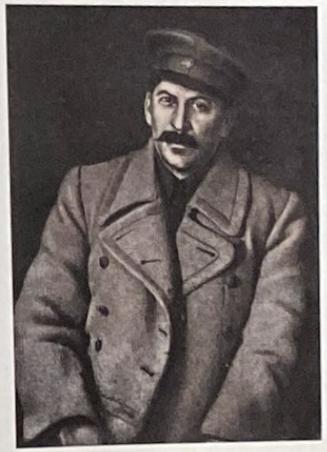
Above: In 1970, when the photograph was published in an album on Lenin, only three of the original thirty-three commissars could be shown with him. The rest remained out of favor well into the Gorbachev era.

Two of the "survivors" can be identified. Lev Karakhan (black beard) was a Bolshevik diplomat, killed in the purges of 1937. Petr Stuchka (back left) was Lenin's commissar of justice. He died in 1932 and was buried in the Kremlin Wall. That did not save him in Stalin's eyes; in 1937 he was posthumously purged as an enemy of the people and a deliberate wrecker in the field of jurisprudence. It was Stuchka who, in June 1918, had legalized capital punishment in the new Soviet state.

Above: Delegates to the Eighth Congress of the Bolshevik Party, Moscow, March 1919. Lenin told the congress that the existence of the Soviet state side by side with the imperialist states was inconceivable: "In the end, one or the other must conquer." For seventy years, this photograph was not shown in its entirety in the Soviet Union. Out of the twenty delegates identified, eleven were killed by Stalin and three more (Mikhail Tomsky, Adolf Yoffe, and Mikhail Lashevich) committed suicide in protest against his policies. The photograph shows (front row, left to right): Ivan Smilga, Vasily Schmidt, and Sergei Zorin. Middle row, from the left: Grigor Yevdokimov, Stalin, Lenin, Mikhail Kalinin, and Petr Smorodin. Top row: Pavel Malkov, Eino Rahja, Said Galiyev, Petr Zalutsky, Yakov Drobnis, Tomsky, Moisei Haritonov, Yoffe, David Ryazanov, Alexei Badaev, Leonid Serebryakov, and Lashevich. Kalinin had just been made chairman of the Central Executive Committee after the death of Sverdlov.

Opposite, top to bottom: The most famous retouched version of the photograph showed only Stalin, Lenin, and Kalinin as a ruling triumvirate. Occasionally Kalinin was made to disappear, falsely suggesting Stalin's extreme closeness to Lenin. Finally, when reproduced in the massive *First Cavalry* album designed by Alexander Rodchenko in 1938, even Lenin has gone.

OLD BOLSHEVIKS



THE COMMISSAR VANISHES

Right: Lenin and Trotsky (center, at top of stairs), the co-leaders of the Russian Revolution, celebrating its second anniversary in Red Square, Moscow, on November 7, 1919. The photograph was taken by L. Y. Leonidov. A heavily retouched version (*top* and *above*, detailed) was published in *V. I. Lenin in the Art of Photography* in Moscow in 1967. Trotsky has been airbrushed out and so has Kamenev (leather cap and glasses, to the left of Lenin in the original).

The man with the black beard (standing center right in front of Trotsky in the unretouched version) has also been eliminated. He was Artashes Khalatov, a Georgian who joined the Bolsheviks in 1917 and became a commissar of Soviet publishing. When Stalin started his assault on the party cadres in 1937, Khalatov perished with thousands of other talented officials.

In front of Khalatov is Maxim Litvinov (hands in pockets). He joined the revolutionary movement in 1898 and became one of the Bolsheviks' chief organizers. He smuggled guns into Russia to advance the 1905 revolution and published the first legal Bolshevik newspaper. When this photograph was taken, he had just returned from London with his English wife, Ivy. As Soviet representative there since the Revolution, he had been arrested and exchanged for the British spy Bruce Lockhart. He was foreign minister from 1930 until 1939. Litvinov died under suspicious circumstances in 1951, possibly a victim of Beria's secret police.

Right: During the 1930s, Trotsky's supporters in Paris, believing that all hope for Marxism in Russia was lost, formed the Fourth International under the leadership of his son Leon Sedov, in opposition to Stalin's policies. They published, somewhat misguidedly in view of Stalin's falsifications, a postcard signed and dated "Leon Trotsky 12/XI/1935," which was itself a retouched version of one of the 1919 photographs (*above*).

Below left: A detail from "World War," panel No. 11 from Diego Rivera's epic series of paintings, *Project of America*, for the New Workers' School in New York, 1933. When the school closed down, eighteen of the twenty-one panels were moved to the headquarters of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Forest Park, Pennsylvania. The sight of Lenin and Trotsky proved too much for the union bosses, and four panels were sold to a private collection in Mexico. Thirteen of the other panels were destroyed by fire in 1969.

Opposite: As late as 1987, when Progress Publishers in Moscow issued an album called *Lenin's Portrait: A Few More Touches*, the series of four shots reproduced there were all heavily cropped, leaving only a mysterious elbow—Trotksy's elbow—on the right.

GHOST TRAIN

Opposite: Throughout the Civil War that followed the October Revolution, propaganda trains steamed across the embattled countryside, trying to persuade the local citizens to join the Reds in the struggle against the capitalist-backed White armies. Powerfully painted on the outside by enthusiastic revolutionary designers and caricaturists, the carriages were converted into movie theaters, libraries, telegraph offices, printshops, and meeting rooms. The latest news from the various fronts was turned into type, printed, and published in traveling newspapers. In the cities agitprop trams railed through the streets, and on the rivers there were even agitprop ships.

Right: This photograph shows a young staff member of the famous "October Revolution" train distributing news to an eager crowd. When we look closely at the window on the right of the photograph, a ghostly apparition—the result of the retoucher's inept hand—is all that remains of the person who had been looking out of the carriage.

ЛИТЕРАТУРНО-ИНСТР

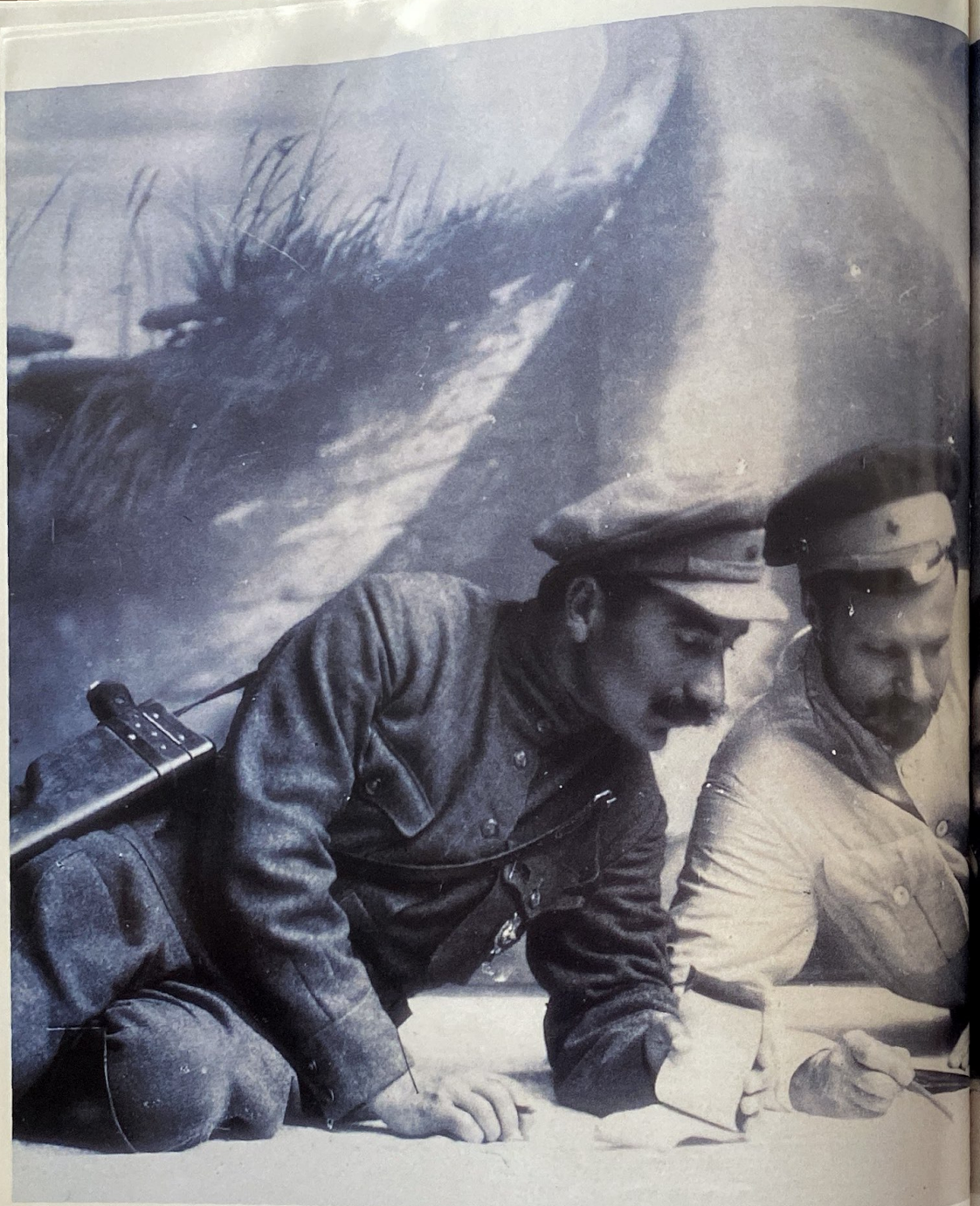
ЧТОБЫ ПОБЕДИТЬ ГРЯЗЬ

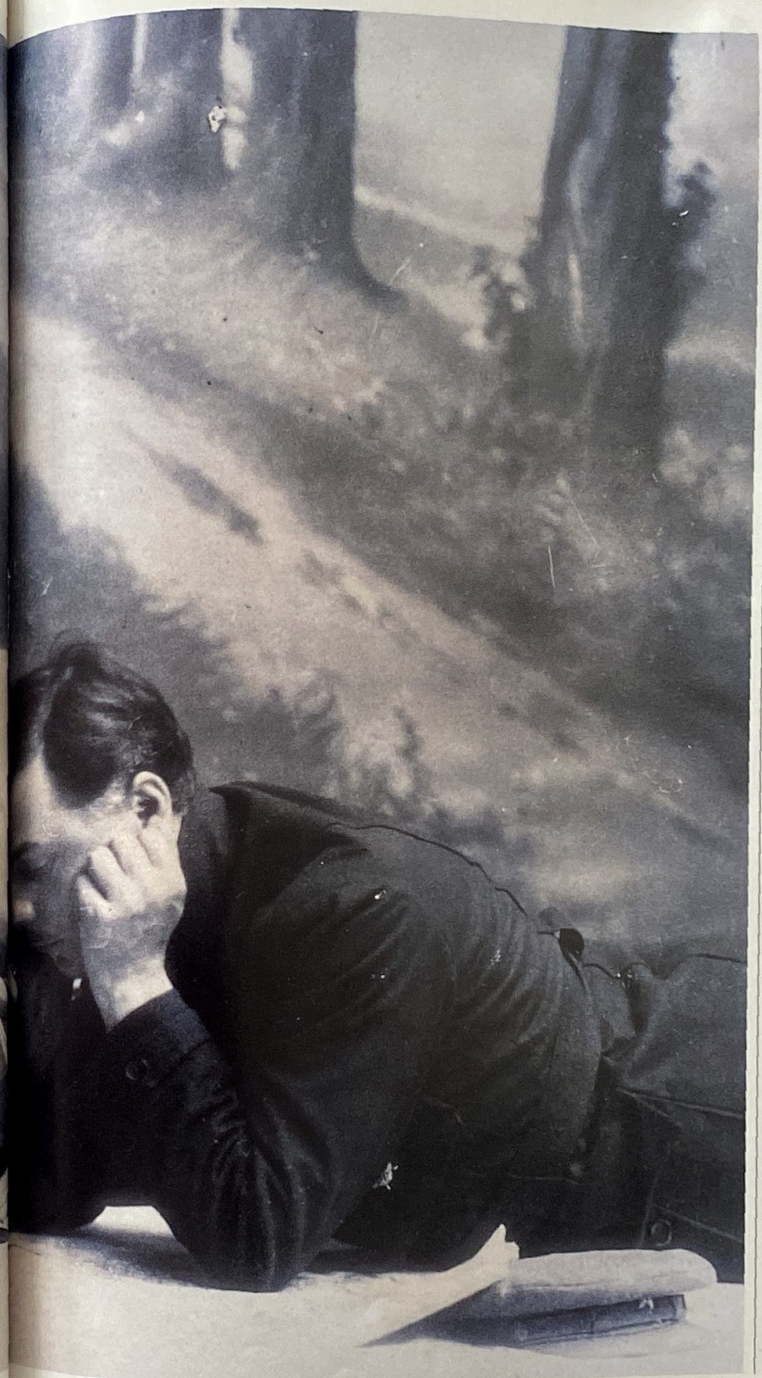
CHAPAYEV: THE LEGEND CONTINUES

Commanders and commissars of the 25th Infantry Division of Ufa in the Urals, June 9, 1919. In the center of the picture is Vasilii Ivanovich Chapayev (seated, with bandaged head), legendary partisan commander who died in action the same year. Next to him on the left sits Dmitri Andreyevich Furmanov, ex-anarchist, political commissar, and writer, whose novel *Chapayev* was turned into an epic feature film in the 1930s. The photograph in this form was published in the magazine *Projector* in March 1926 as well as in a photographic portfolio entitled *Chapayev* in 1932.

This version (*right*) of the photograph shown on the previous page was recently discovered in Soviet archives. From the original group of forty-one men, only thirty remain, due to airbrushing and cropping. Four faces from the eleven officers erased in the original have been superimposed onto other bodies in this photo (see the three details at bottom for comparison). The soft-focus airbrushing of this version betrays the style favored by Soviet retouchers from the late 1930s onward. The 25 percent reduction in personnel in the picture can be explained by Stalin's purge of the Red Army in 1937, which claimed the lives of 25,000 officers.

Below: A photo-illustration from the *Chapayev* portfolio showing troops from the 25th Division meeting with cavalry from the 217th Pugachevsky Regiment during the Civil War. The slogan on the banner was clearly considered to have been inappropriate by the political censors and was blacked out when the picture was published in 1932.





CIVIL WAR HEROES

Commanders of the Red Army (*left*) in earnest discussion during the Civil War. Left to right: Semyon Budenny, Mikhail Frunze, and Kliment Voroshilov. All three were accorded hero status by Stalin's propaganda machine. The photograph reflects this; in fact, they are lying on a platform in a photographer's studio, and the muddy road behind them is a painted backdrop.

Above: This touching Civil War photograph of a young Red Cavalry soldier was probably taken to be sent to his family back home. It is another studio picture, but what makes the scene disconcerting is that a taxidermist has been at work on the horse.

TROUBLE IN THE CAUCASUS

Above left: Three prominent Party activists, Sergei Kirov, Mikhail Levandovsky, and Konstantin Mekhonoshin, photographed in 1920 in Baku during the Civil War. Kirov organized some of the first systematic purges of the Bolshevik Party there.
Above right: When the picture was published in a biography of Kirov in 1936, Mekhonoshin was cropped out, necessitating some slight retouching to Levandovsky's arm. Mekhonoshin had been appointed commissar on the southern front in 1918 by Trotsky in an attempt to counter Stalin's military shortcomings. Levandovsky was made military commander of the Caucasian Bureau in 1920. Later he commanded the only force that was independent of Moscow—the Red Banner Army of the Caucasus. Stalin was particularly jealous of all this; neither he nor his henchman Voroshilov had been appointed to the Revolutionary Military Soviet during the Civil War. He had a long memory and, in 1937, he took his revenge. He wiped out Mekhonoshin, Levandovsky, and the rest of the commissars who had been unlucky enough to survive.
Top right: Stalin on the Tsaritsyn front, 1918.
Opposite: Back in the photographer's studio, Semyon Budenny (perched on a plastic rock) and Kliment Voroshilov seemingly struggle to find the way to Rostov-on-Don in 1920. The landscape in watercolor deserves mention. This particular confection was published in 1935 in a magazine on the Red Cavalry.

Above: Soldiers of the Eleventh Red Army with political advisors at the train station in Baku, Azerbaijan, in 1920. With the White armies defeated, Baku became the center for the "export of revolution on the point of a bayonet," and the independent Caucasian republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan lived on borrowed time. In the front row can be seen Sergei Kirov (second from left), Sergo Ordjonikidze (third from left), leader of the Caucasian Bureau, and Anastais Mikoyan (right, with dark beard), the sole survivor among the legendary "twenty-six commissars" shot by anti-Communists in 1918.
Opposite: A heavily cropped and airbrushed version (*top*) of the same picture published in *USSR in Construction* magazine in 1939 shows only Kirov and Ordjonikidze.

In another issue of the magazine (*below right*), the two commissars have now been joined by Mikoyan, who has been made to jump at least eight places from his position in the original photograph. The soldiers in the background of the original print have been upstaged by a backdrop drawing of a much more colorful band of stereotypes.

BAND OF STEREOTYPES

Lenin and Mikhail Kalinin, president of the Supreme Soviet, conferring with delegates to the First All-Russian Congress of Working Cossacks in the House of Trade Unions, Moscow, March 1, 1920.

The picture was taken by the distinguished photographer Moisei Nappelbaum. It was reproduced uncropped in the album *V. I. Lenin in the Art of Photography*, published in Moscow in 1967, but a man's head has been blatantly blocked out with a sheet of paper in the top left-hand corner. *Opposite:* When a similar photograph (*top*) of the meeting appeared in *Lenin Album: 100 Photos* in 1927, the missing person was seen to be a tall, bearded comrade listening intently to Lenin's words. When this same photograph was published again in 1970 in another Lenin collection, it was cropped in much closer (*below*), thereby eradicating this unknown "Old Bolshevik" once more.

A large proportion of the photographs in *Lenin Album: 100 Photos* showed Lenin in the company of Stalin's enemies. There was only one picture that included Stalin in the whole book, which was withdrawn from circulation shortly after publication. In 1970 the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow called it "practically extinct," in spite of the fact that 10,000 copies had been printed. Fortunately, a number of copies reached the West at the time of publication and have been preserved.

PRACTICALLY EXTINCT

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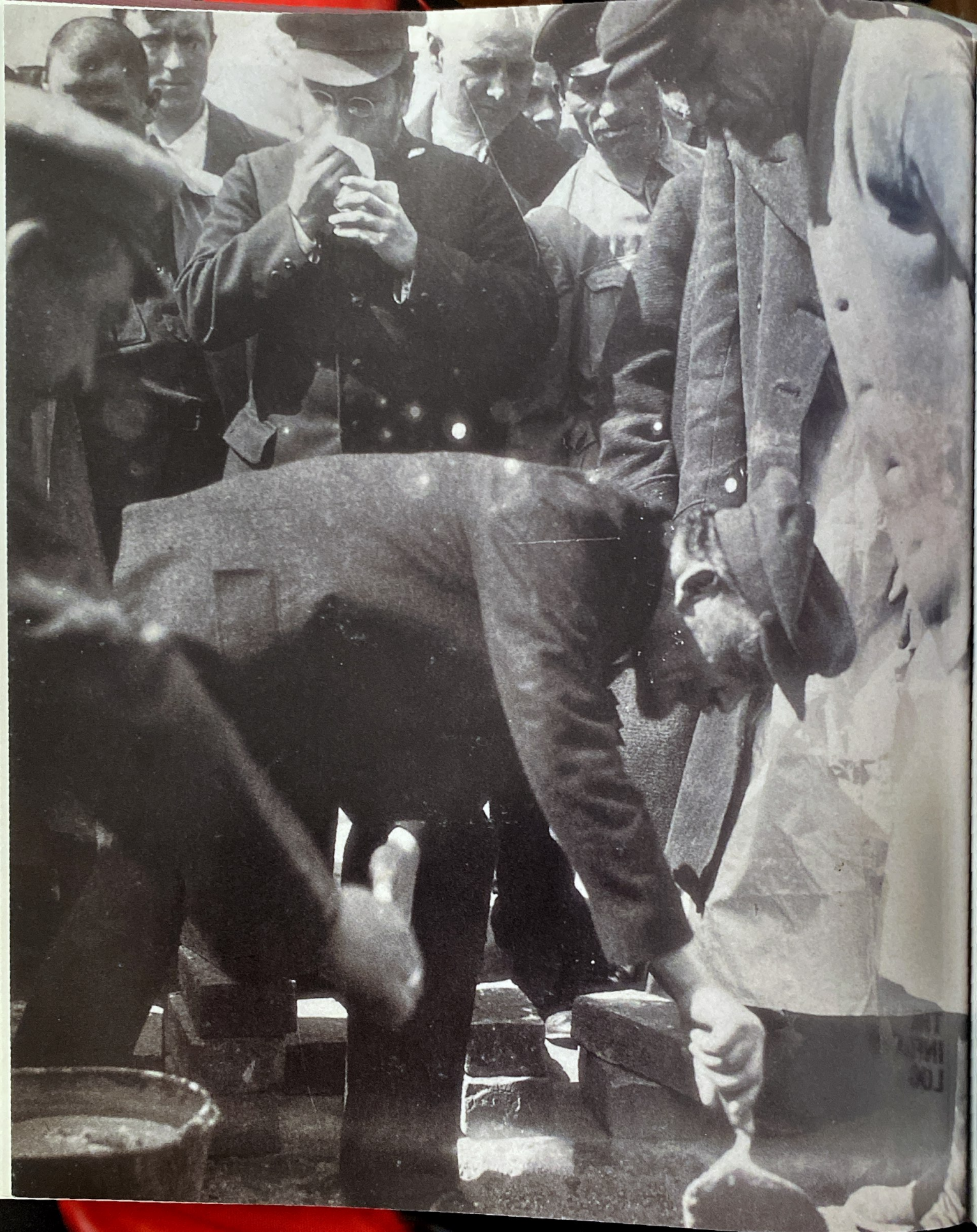


THE INFLATABLE LOG

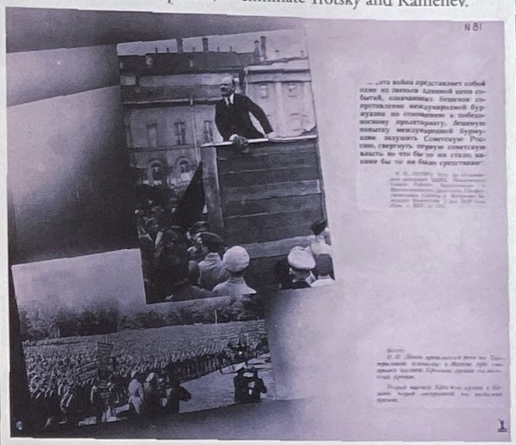
Above: May Day 1920 at the Moscow Kremlin. Lenin gives a hand at a "Subbotnik." To help rebuild the country at the end of the Civil War, hundreds of thousands of workers were urged to perform voluntary work each Saturday. The blurred picture of Lenin (*bottom right*), at the end of the tree trunk, was turned into a laborious painting (*top*) by the artist Mikhail Sokolov in 1927. Widely reproduced throughout the Soviet Union, it soon became known as "The Inflatable Log."

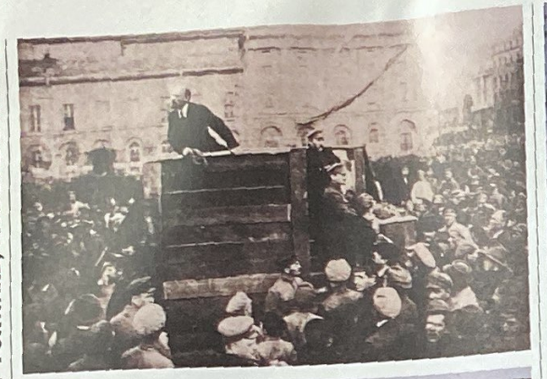
Bottom left: An earlier, more "workerist" painting by Vladimir Meshkov was considered to be too expressionist by the 1930s and disappeared from view.

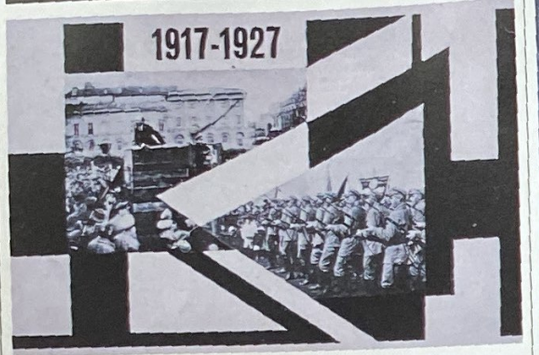
Opposite: Lenin also found time that day to spread the cement for the foundation stone of a new monument to Karl Marx in Teatralnaya Square. Kamenev has a cold.

ONE STEP FORWARD, FIVE STEPS BACK

Lenin addresses the troops (*left*) from a wooden podium set up outside the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow, May 5, 1920. The soldiers are about to depart for the Polish front to fight Marshal Pilsudski's forces, which had recently invaded the Ukraine. On the steps to the right of Lenin we can see Trotsky, with Kamenev partly obscured behind him. The photograph was taken by G. P. Goldshtein. The subsequent falsification of this photograph (and its variations, which can be seen on the following six pages) is probably the *first* and certainly the most *famous* example of Stalinist *re*touching. The original photograph, which achieved icon status while Lenin was alive and Trotsky still had power, was published throughout the world. It became as much a symbol of revolutionary Russia as the hammer and sickle or the red flag. After Trotsky's downfall, the photograph was never again shown in its entirety in the Soviet Union. Although reproduced in many hundreds of publications, it was always cropped (as in the examples below), even during the Gorbachev period, to eliminate Trotsky and Kamenev.

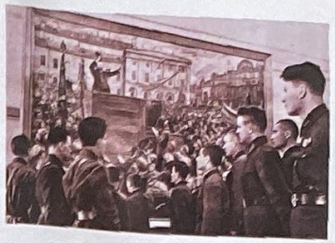




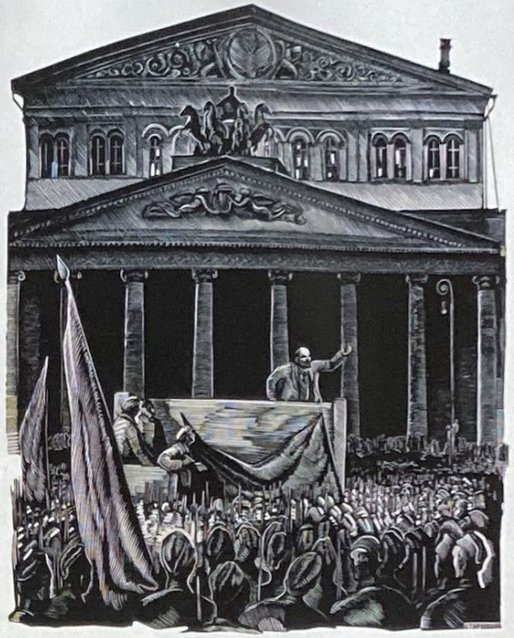


Top: Another shot by Goldshtein, taken within seconds of the one on the previous page, was also widely published. Trotsky and Kamenev are now seen in profile.

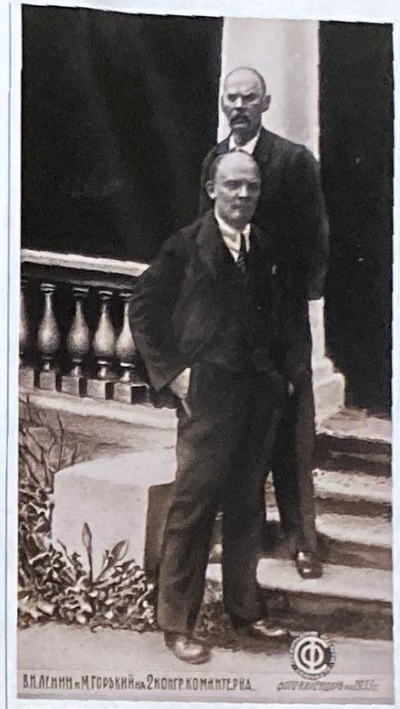
The same photograph has been montaged into the avant-garde postcard (*above*), published to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution (1927). This was probably Trotsky's last appearance in published versions of the photograph. He was expelled from the Communist Party on November 14, 1927. Subsequent versions (as shown *right*) have both Trotsky and Kamenev painted out and five wooden steps painted in.



Left: The falsification of Goldshtein's photograph next moved into the world of art. The famous socialist realist painter Isaak Brodsky was commissioned to portray the scene on a giant canvas in 1933. There was no room in this glorification for either Trotsky or Kamenev, their places having been taken by two reporters. The painting became a major attraction at the Central Lenin Museum in Moscow. Large-scale painted copies were made for other Soviet museums, and millions of reproductions were sold.
Top: A photograph taken by A. Garanin for *Pravda* in 1940 shows earnest young soldiers, commanders, and political workers of the Red Army and Navy enthralled by the work.
Above: Isaak Brodsky. He was rewarded for his devotion to socialist realism with the directorship of the Russian Academy of Arts in Leningrad in 1934. He died in 1939.



Left: Another photograph from the May 5 meeting, taken from a different angle. Trotsky is now haranguing the troops while Kamenev and Lenin look on. The picture was found in a special album given to foreign delegates at the Second Congress of the Third International in 1920. The photographer is unknown. In the Stalinist period, being caught in possession of a photograph like this would have meant certain arrest and banishment to a labor camp, or worse. Even to murmur of its existence would have been considered a crime. In the background is a good view of the Bolshoi Theater.
Above: The graphic artist Petr Nikolaievich Staronosov clearly saw the Bolshoi's potential when he made this hideous scraperboard drawing in 1936 for an album entitled *The Life of Lenin*. Trotsky and Kamenev do not feature, of course, and Lenin is back, raging against Pilsudski.



CLOSE TO LENIN

Lenin and a group of delegates on the steps of the Uritsky Palace in Petrograd, July 19, 1920, at the Second Congress of the Communist International. The original photograph (*left*) comes from an album given to foreign delegates at the conference.

Among those who can be identified are, from left to right: Lev Mikhailovich Karakhan (far left, hat and beard), Karl Radek (with cigarette), Nikolai Bukharin (cigarette in hand), Mikhail Lashevich (in uniform), Maxim Peshkov (behind pillar), Lenin, Maxim Gorky, Sergei Zorin (hat), Zinoviev (white tie), M. N. Roy (black tie and jacket), Maria Ulyanova (Lenin's sister), and Abram Belenky (foreground in sunhat).

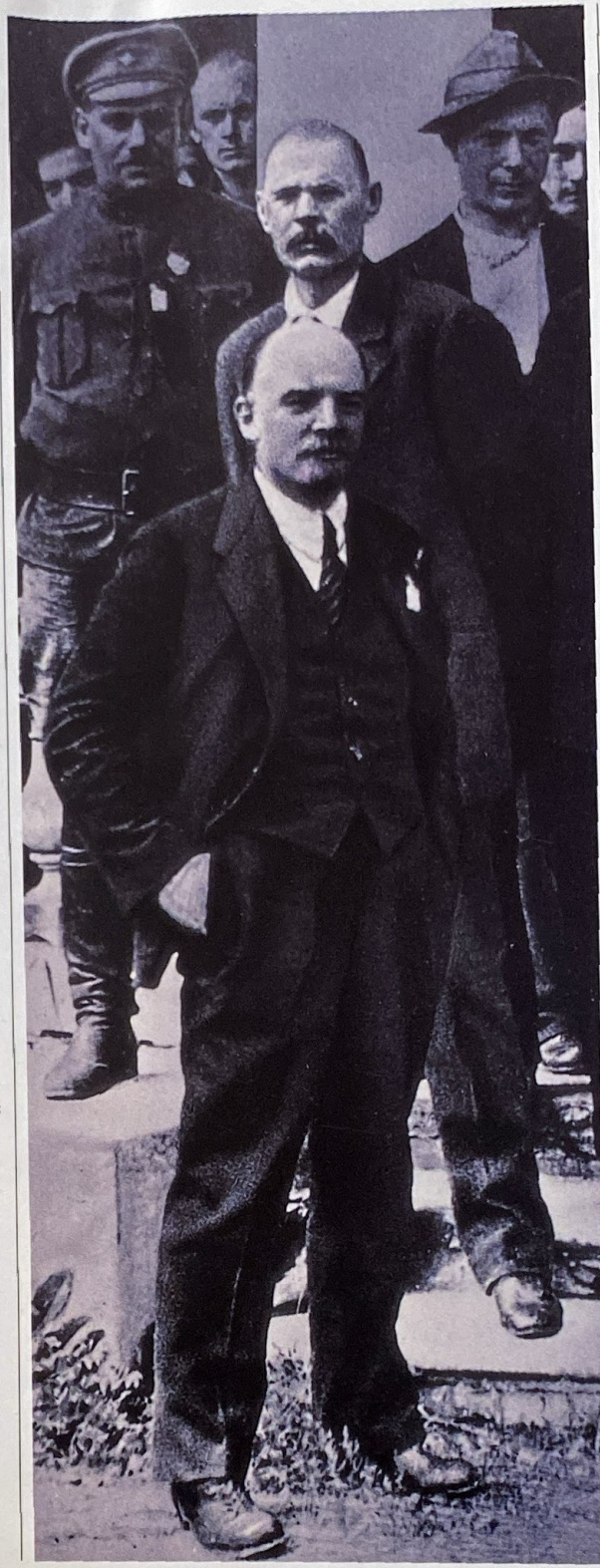
Gorky moved to Italy a few months after this picture was taken. He returned to the Soviet Union in 1928, four years after Lenin's death. By this time, the photograph was being widely published heavily cropped to an upright (*above*) and retouched to exclude everyone but the writer and the dead leader. Stalin now befriended Gorky, and it was useful to him to show that the friend of the new leader had once been so close to the old one.

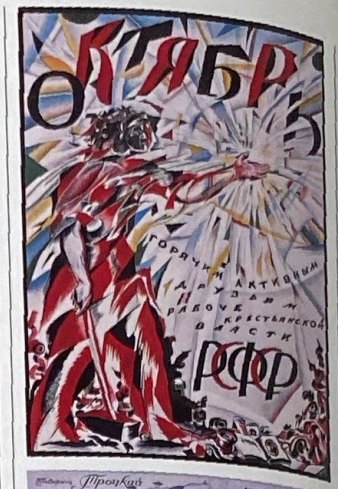
Right: As late as the 1980s, only this cropped version of the group on the previous page could be published, albeit slightly modified. Mikhail Lashevich and Sergei Zorin, both prominent supporters of Stalin's rival, Zinoviev, were allowed to return, as was Maxim Peshkov, Gorky's son (peering out from the left of the pillar). Peshkov had been poisoned in 1934 by Genrich Yagoda, then head of the NKVD, who was obsessed with Peshkov's wife. Lashevich committed suicide, and Zorin was shot in 1937. The exact circumstances of Gorky's death are uncertain, but he died in 1936 and was given a state funeral. His body was cremated, and the ashes were placed in the Kremlin Wall.

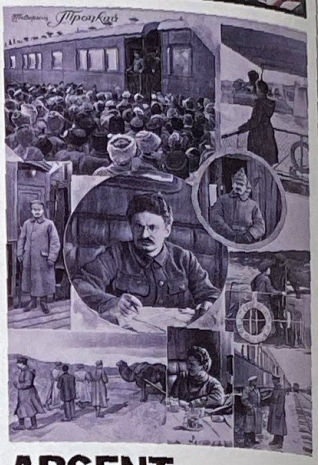
The fate of some of the others who are identified in the original photograph can be told. Karakhan, an eminent Soviet diplomat, was shot in 1937. Radek, a famous revolutionary and journalist, died in the Gulag in 1939, brutally murdered by a criminal inmate. Bukharin, the immensely popular, liberal, and most humane member of the Bolsheviks, was shot on March 13, 1938, after the third Moscow show trial. Zinoviev, chairman of both the Petrograd Soviet and the Comintern at the time the photograph was taken, was shot in 1936 following the first Moscow trial.

Maria Ulyanova was a member of the editorial board of *Pravda*, as was her friend Bukharin. She died of a brain tumor in 1937.

M. N. Roy, the famous Indian Communist, led the Asian delegates at the Second Congress of the Comintern and clashed sharply with Lenin over colonial issues.







ABSENT

Stalin's relative unimportance during the Revolution and its aftermath is graphically illustrated by his absence from this photomontage of the Bolshevik leaders (*opposite*). It was published in *Oktyabr* (cover, *top*), a spectacular photographic album with a print run of 100,000 copies commemorating the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. In its survey of three years of revolution, there is not a single reference to the future dictator. Trotsky, however, as founder and leader of the victorious Red Army during the Civil War, is given star billing (*above*). Few of those pictured in the album were to die later of natural causes.

т. Балабанова
т. Крупская
т. Шляпников
т. Лилина
т. Стасова
т. Каменев
т. Свердлов
т. Карл Либкнехт
т. Урицкий

Lenin making a speech in Dvortsovaya Square, Petrograd, on July 19, 1920 (*above*). The picture was taken during the Second Congress of the Communist International by the famous reportage photographer Viktor Bulla. By the time the photograph was used in a memorial issue dedicated to Lenin published by *Krasnaya Niva* (*Red Field*) magazine on February 17, 1924, it must have been judged necessary to boost Lenin's popularity. In spite of the magazine's poor reproduction it can be seen (*opposite, above*) that the audience in front of Lenin in the first picture has been replaced by a much more dramatic crowd scene shot on another occasion (*opposite, below*).

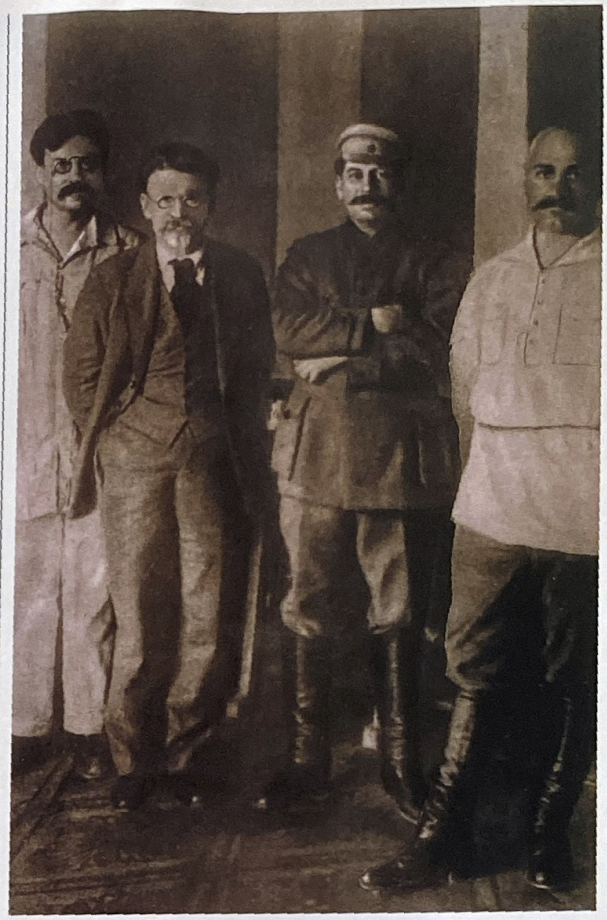
PLANNING THE WORLD REVOLUTION

Isaak Brodsky's massive painting *Lenin's Opening Speech at the Second Congress of the Communist International* was started in 1920 and took four years to complete. Less work of art than historical document, it is a breathtaking panorama portraying more than 300 delegates, Russian and international, who took part in this month-long conference to plan the oncoming world revolution. As the work was not completed until 1924, Stalin is more prominent in the painting than he would have been were it finished sooner. Trotsky, Bukharin, Radek, and Zinoviev all feature strongly, as do the foreign delegates John Reed (USA), Béla Kun (Hungary), Giacinto Serrati (Italy), Klara Zetkin (Germany), and Alfred Rosmer (France). Since many of the revolutionaries featured in the painting were later murdered by Stalin, and in view of his antipathy to internationalism in general, the work was withdrawn from view in 1927. It was resurrected in 1989 and displayed on the stairs of the Lenin Museum in Moscow, where it had been rolled up, unseen for sixty-two years.

THE CHILDREN OF KASHINO

Above: Lenin and his wife Nadezhda Krupskaya photographed with a group of *kulaks* (rich peasants) from Kashino village, Moscow region, at the opening of an electric power station. Photograph by F. Feofanov, November 14, 1920.

Left: When the photograph was reproduced nineteen years later at the height of the purges, all the adults from the village and many of the children had been eliminated. The darkened, airbrushed background makes this version doubly sinister.



ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

Above left: Participants at the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party, in Moscow, April 1922. From left to right: Emilian Yaroslavsky, Mikhail Kalinin, Stalin, Grigorii Petrovsky, and Sergo Ordjonikidze. When this photo was taken, Stalin had just been made General Secretary, a new post responsible for the organization of the Party apparatus. He was appointed by the Central Committee, on Kamenev's recommendation. Stalin already held several Party and state portfolios, but he worked unobtrusively behind the scenes, and wasn't noticed much. While Lenin was around, there was only one leader.

Yaroslavsky started his political life as a left-wing Bolshevik, and became head of the Union of Atheists, which organized militant anti-religious campaigns from the early 1920s onward.

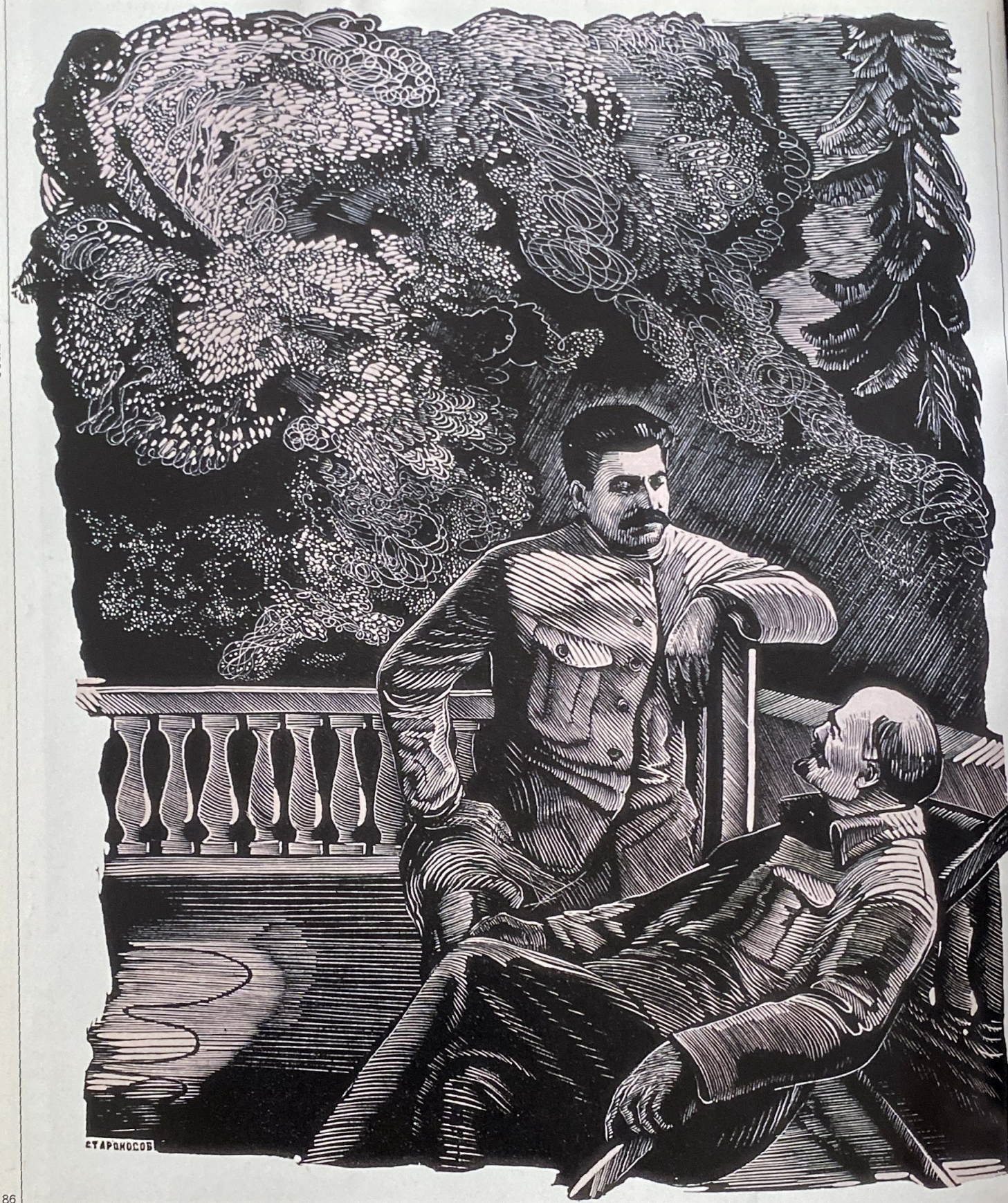
Above right: In a retouched version of the same photo, published in a portfolio of photographs celebrating Stalin's sixtieth birthday in 1939, there is no longer room for Petrovsky, and Ordjonikidze has been moved closer to his boss by the retoucher. Petrovsky was sacked from his position on the Central Committee in 1938, accused of having connections with "enemies of the people," but he wasn't arrested.

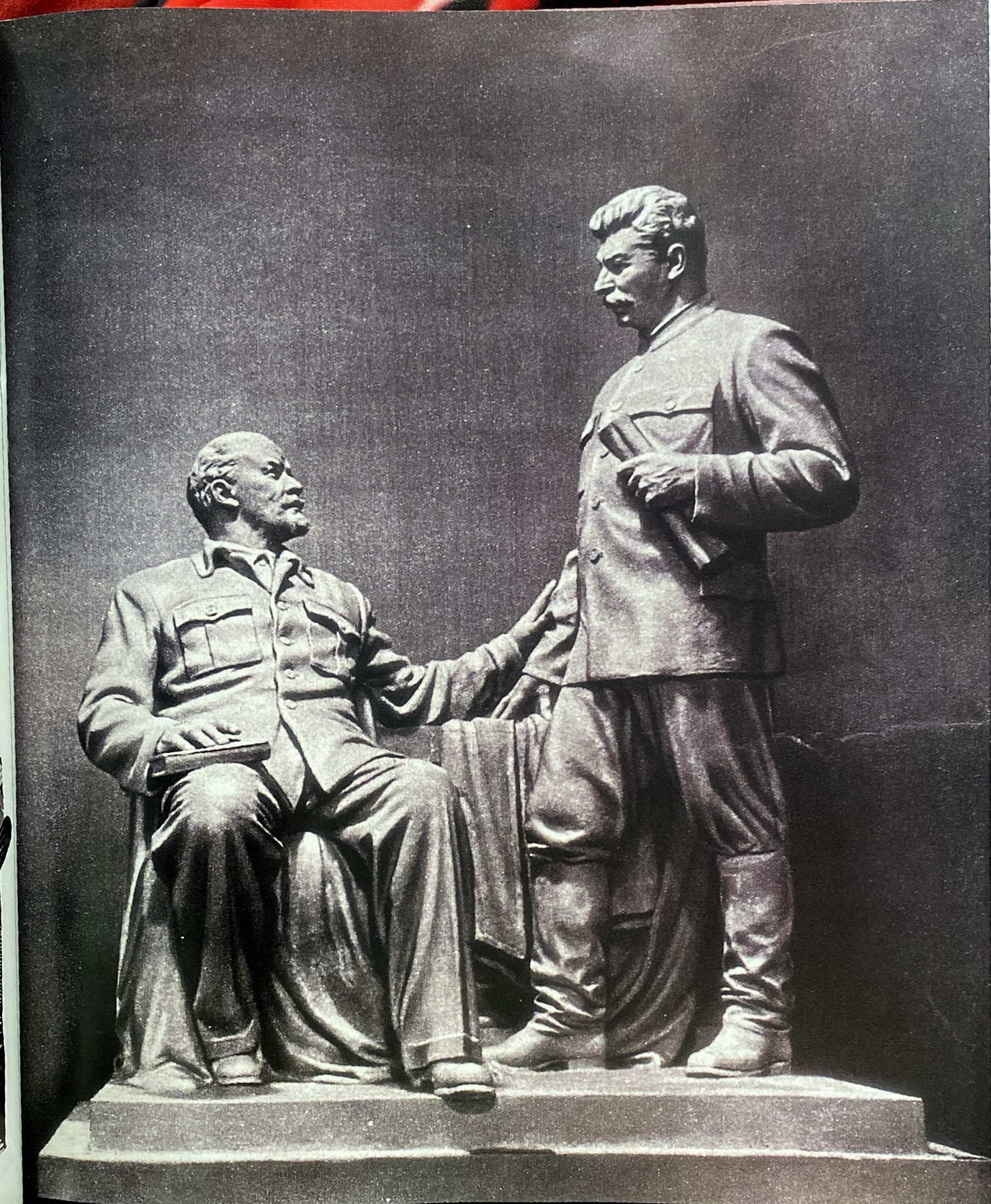
Left: An even closer cropping of the photograph was published at the same time.

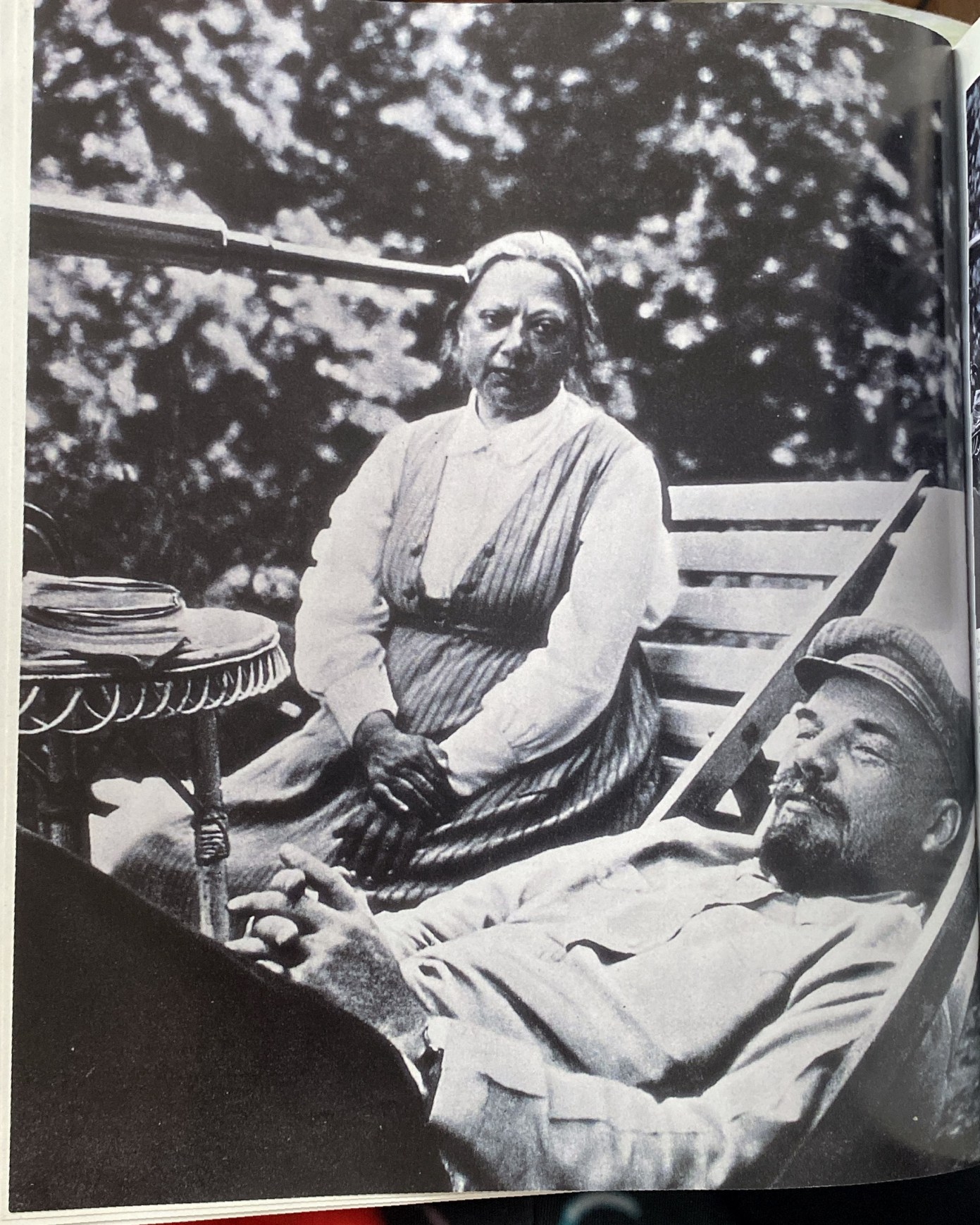
THE STALIN SCHOOL OF PETRIFICATION

The photograph (*above*) of Lenin and Stalin in Gorki, near Moscow, in 1922 bears every sign of having been faked. But from the mid-1930s the Stalinist propaganda machine churned out thousands of sculptures, paintings, prints, and drawings to exaggerate the closeness of their relationship in ever more ridiculous degrees. In fact, Lenin had become increasingly alarmed that Stalin was growing too powerful and, in spite of his ill health, tried to break off all relations with him. Lenin had suffered his first stroke in May 1922. The Politburo needed someone to take overall responsibility for him; they chose the recently appointed General Secretary Stalin. More strokes followed, however, leaving Lenin partially paralyzed, and he spent most of the final months of his life resting in Gorki.

The artist Yuri Annenkov went there to draw Lenin in December 1923 for a portfolio of Bolshevik leaders. Annenkov reported later that, "wrapped in a blanket and looking past us with the helpless, twisted, babyish smile of a man in his second infancy, Lenin could serve only as an illustration of his illness, and not as a model for a portrait." *Opposite:* A ponderous sculpture, made in 1938, based on the faked photograph above. *Overleaf, left-hand page:* Petr Staronosov's inept gravure from 1936, showing Stalin with the disdainful expression of a prizefighter who has just nailed his opponent to the canvas. *Overleaf, right-hand page:* Venyamin Pinchuk and R. Taurit's *V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin in Gorki* was very well received in 1949 when it was shown in the massive exhibition entitled "Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin in Visual Art" at the State Tretchyakov Gallery in Moscow.


СТАРОНОСОВ





Opposite Maria Ulyanova, Lenin's sister, who aspired to become a photographer, shot this picture of her brother and sister-in-law, Nadezhda Krupskaya, in Gorki, in late August 1922. Through the viewfinder Ulyanova failed to see the end of a telescope, which looks like a gun pointed at Krupskaya's head.

When the picture was published in a Lenin album in 1961 (above) the telescope was slightly retouched, but the adjustment seems to make the threat even greater.

Opposite: Maria Ulyanova, Lenin's sister, who aspired to become a photographer, shot this picture of her brother and sister-in-law, Nadezhda Krupskaya, in Gorki, in late August 1922. Through the viewfinder Ulyanova failed to see the end of a telescope, which looks like a gun pointed at Krupskaya's head.

When the picture was published in a Lenin album in 1960 (*above*) the telescope was slightly retouched, but the adjustment seems to make the threat even greater.

Republished in 1970 (*above*), the threat has become less critical, but a faint and sinister beam now radiates from the barrel toward Krupskaya.

Left: At the close of Soviet rule at the end of the 1980s, the retouchers at last eradicated the threat, and calm was restored.

BASIC RULES OF PHOTOGRAPHY

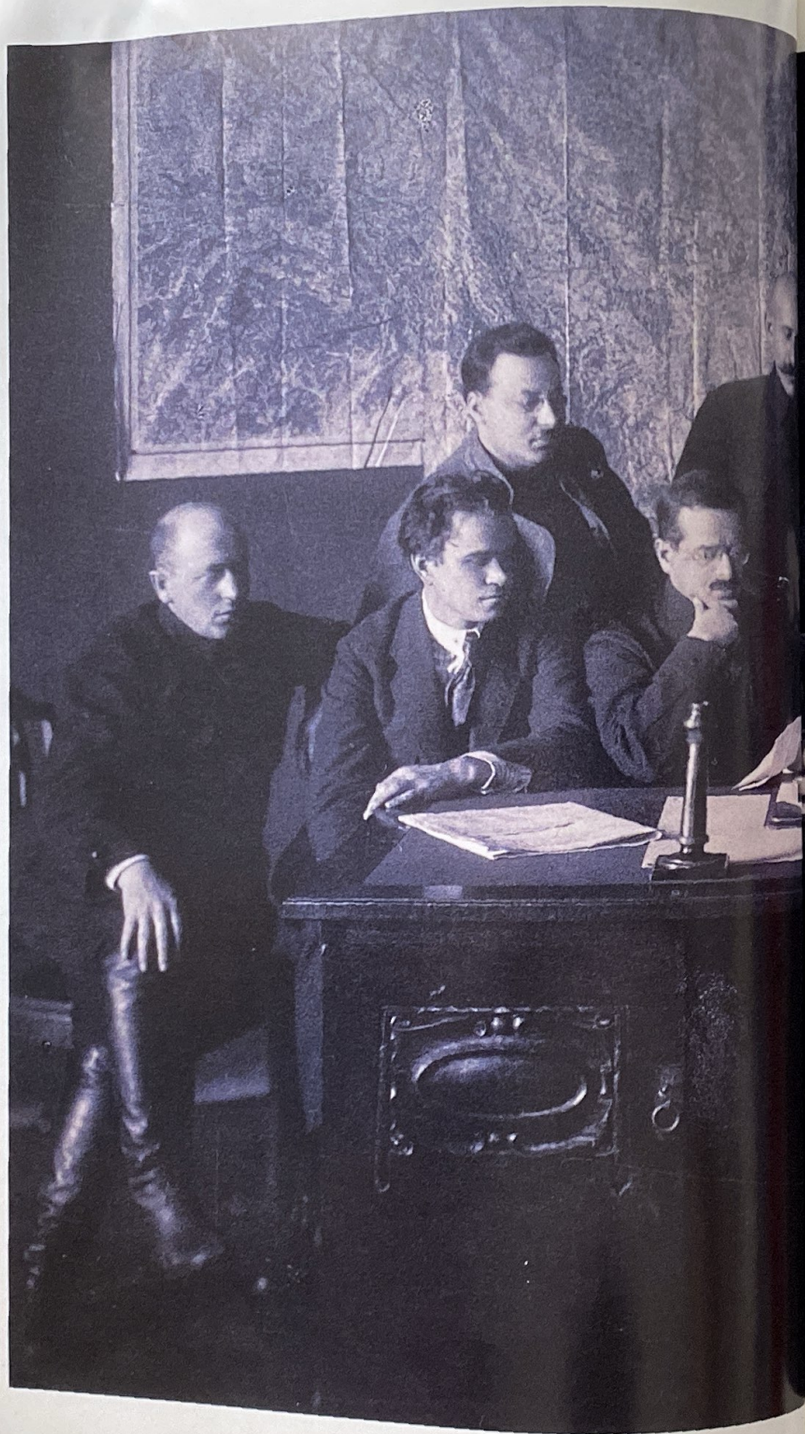
NOT TO BE REPRODUCED

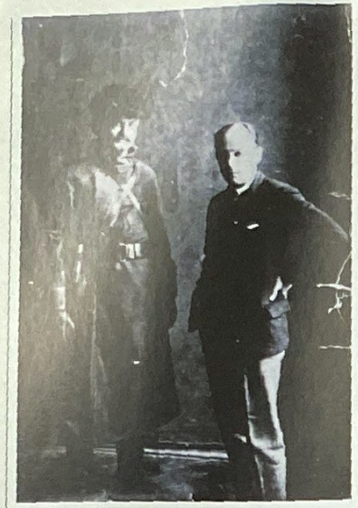
This extraordinary photograph, never before published, shows Felix Dzerzhinsky, first boss of the Cheka, at his desk in the Lubyanka in 1922. He is surrounded by his closest collaborators, arranged like the twelve disciples at the Last Supper. The photograph is rubber-stamped on the back "Supreme Soviet of the USSR," alongside the ominous command "Not to be reproduced."

Included in the picture are: Yakov Peters (second from the left), with Joseph Unschlicht (hand to chin) and Vyacheslav Menzhinsky flanking Dzerzhinsky. Genrich Yagoda is standing behind Menzhinsky, between Abram Belenky (left) and Martin Latsis and Filipp Goloshchekin (right).

Dzerzhinsky died of heart failure in 1926 and was replaced by Menzhinsky, who died in 1934 after a long illness. Yagoda followed next as chief of security, but he was arrested in 1937 and shot a year later.

Peters was a particularly sadistic Chekist, who was himself liquidated in 1938. Unschlicht, once described by Trotsky as an "ambitious but talentless intriguer" was shot, also in 1938. Belenky was Lenin's personal chief of security. He joined the Leningrad opposition to Stalin in the 1920s and was shot in 1937. Latsis ran a secret section of the Cheka formed after the attempt on Lenin's life. In his book *Two Years' Struggle on the Internal Front* (Moscow, 1920), he wrote: "It [the Cheka] does not try the enemy; it strikes him down." He got struck down himself, shot in 1938. Goloshchekin, who had been in exile with Stalin before the Revolution, masterminded the assassination of the tsar and his family in 1918. Stalin had him shot, along with Trotsky's sister, Olga Kameneva, and many others, in a late purge in 1941.





THE PROPHET PORTRAYED

Yuri Annenkov, the cubo-futurist artist, greatly admired Trotsky and made a large portrait of him in 1923. Trotsky posed for the work in the artist's studio. The painting was so well received that it became the centerpiece (*right*) of the Russian exhibit at the Venice Biennale of the following year. The catalog of the exhibition credited the painting as being the property of the Red Army Museum in Moscow, which may have originally commissioned it. No record of it now exists, and, assuming it was not destroyed, the painting has been in hiding for more than seventy years.

Above: Trotsky with Annenkov at the studio.

21 ЯНВАРЯ 1924 г. В ГОРКАХ, ПОД МОСКВОЙ, УМЕР ВОЖДЬ И УЧИТЕЛЬ УГНЕТЕННЫХ ВСЕГО МИРА, СОЗДАТЕЛЬ БОЛЬШЕВИСТСКОЙ ПАРТИИ И ВЕЛИКОГО СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКОГО ГОСУДАРСТВА — ВЛАДИМИР ИЛЬИЧ ЛЕНИН.

«РАБОЧИЙ КЛАСС ВСЕГО МИРА ВСТРЕТИЛ ВЕСТЬ О СМЕРТИ ЛЕНИНА, КАК САМУЮ ТЯЖЕЛУЮ УТРАТУ. В ДЕНЬ ПОХОРОН ЛЕНИНА МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ ПРОЛЕТАРИАТ ОБЪЯВИЛ ПЯТИМИНУТНУЮ ОСТАНОВКУ ВСЕХ РАБОТ. ОСТАНОВИЛИСЬ ЖЕЛЕЗНЫЕ ДОРОГИ, ОСТАНОВИЛАСЬ РАБОТА НА ЗАВОДАХ И ФАБРИКАХ. ТРУДЯЩИЕСЯ ВСЕГО МИРА С ГЛУБОЧАЙШЕЙ СКОРБЬЮ ПРОВОЖАЛИ В МОГИЛУ СВОЕГО ОТЦА И УЧИТЕЛЯ, ЛУЧШЕГО ДРУГА И ЗАЩИТНИКА — ЛЕНИНА».

ИСТОРИЯ ВКП(б). КРАТКИЙ КУРС.

Коммунистическая партия до сих пор была сильна поддержкой рабочего класса — теперь долг каждого рабочего еще сильнее поддерживать свою партию.

К партии, ко всем трудящимся.

Воззвание Центрального Комитета Коммунистической Партии.

Смерть Ленина не есть смерть его дела.

Ленин — это упорная, все преодолевающая воля.

Ленин — гений рабочего класса.

Ленин всю свою жизнь отдал рабочему классу.

Не уныние и панику должна вселить в нас утеря вождя, а энергию и волю для осуществления великих задач рабочего класса.

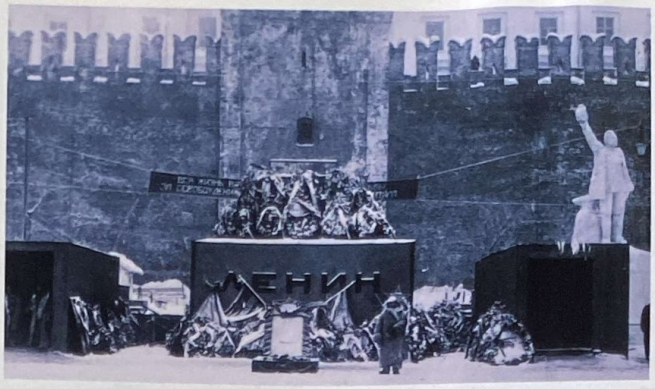
Воззвание ЦК РКП(б) о смерти В. И. Ленина.

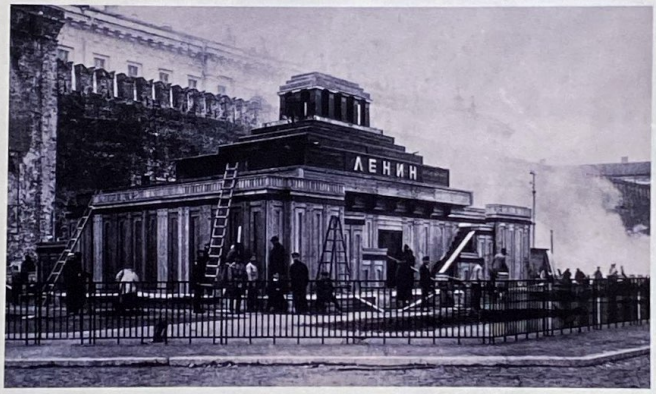
RELIC STATUS

Lenin died in Gorki on January 21, 1924. His body was brought to Moscow, where it lay in state in the Hall of Columns. Soon the body was moved to Red Square, where a large pine boxlike structure was erected to house it (*top right*). On the front of the box a huge sign simply read "LENIN." Throughout February temperatures were subzero and the body lay naturally frozen. But as spring began to melt the ice, and the lines of mourners grew longer, the body started to show signs of decomposition. At this point, the Central Committee hurriedly passed a resolution proposed by Stalin to embalm the body. Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, pleaded to have her late husband simply buried. Stalin, who hated Krupskaya, rejected her request and threatened that "We can always find another widow for Lenin." The "genius of geniuses," as Stalin called Lenin, was about to become a secular saint.

Two embalming experts, Professors V. P. Vorobiev and B. I. Zbarsky (*second from top*), were called in to administer formaldehyde and a glycerin solution. Lenin's internal organs were removed. His brain was taken away to a special laboratory for dissection. The rest of the corpse was then inserted into a glass sarcophagus designed by the constructivist architect Konstantin Melnikov. This in turn was housed in a beautifully designed oak mausoleum (*third from top*).

A heavy granite monster (*bottom right*) was built to replace it in the early 1930s and has remained there ever since, one of Communism's foremost places of pilgrimage. Checks are carried out on the body twice a week, and there is a full overhaul every eighteen months.

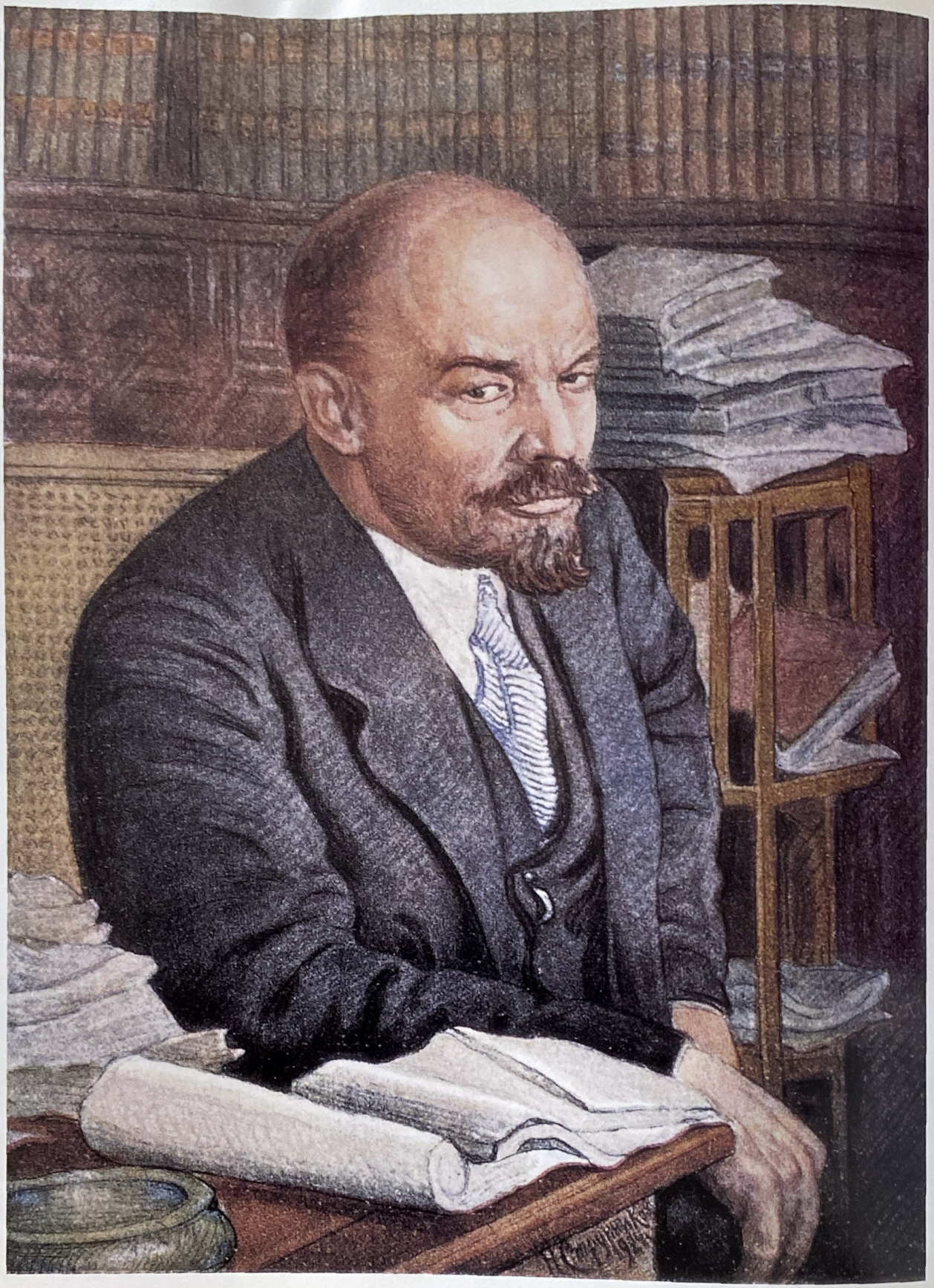




LENIN LEVY

Opposite: A photomontage made in 1939 glorifying Stalin's grief at Lenin's funeral. The two henchmen standing at the coffin are Dzerzhinsky and Voroshilov.

With Lenin sealed safely in the sarcophagus, the internecine savagery could begin in earnest. Stalin's first task was to neutralize Lenin's allies, the "Old Bolsheviks," by creating a network of opportunistic alliances. Stalin also suppressed Lenin's Testament (notes intended for publication after his death concerning the future of the Party, including a demand for Stalin's removal as General Secretary) and sought to make the Party his own. He packed it with hundreds of thousands of new members—the so-called Lenin Levy—political illiterates who shared nothing with the old revolutionaries but owed their sudden rise in status only to Stalin. Trotsky famously referred to this period as the "conspiracy of the epigones." A series of illnesses made it very difficult for Trotsky to mount a properly coordinated opposition.

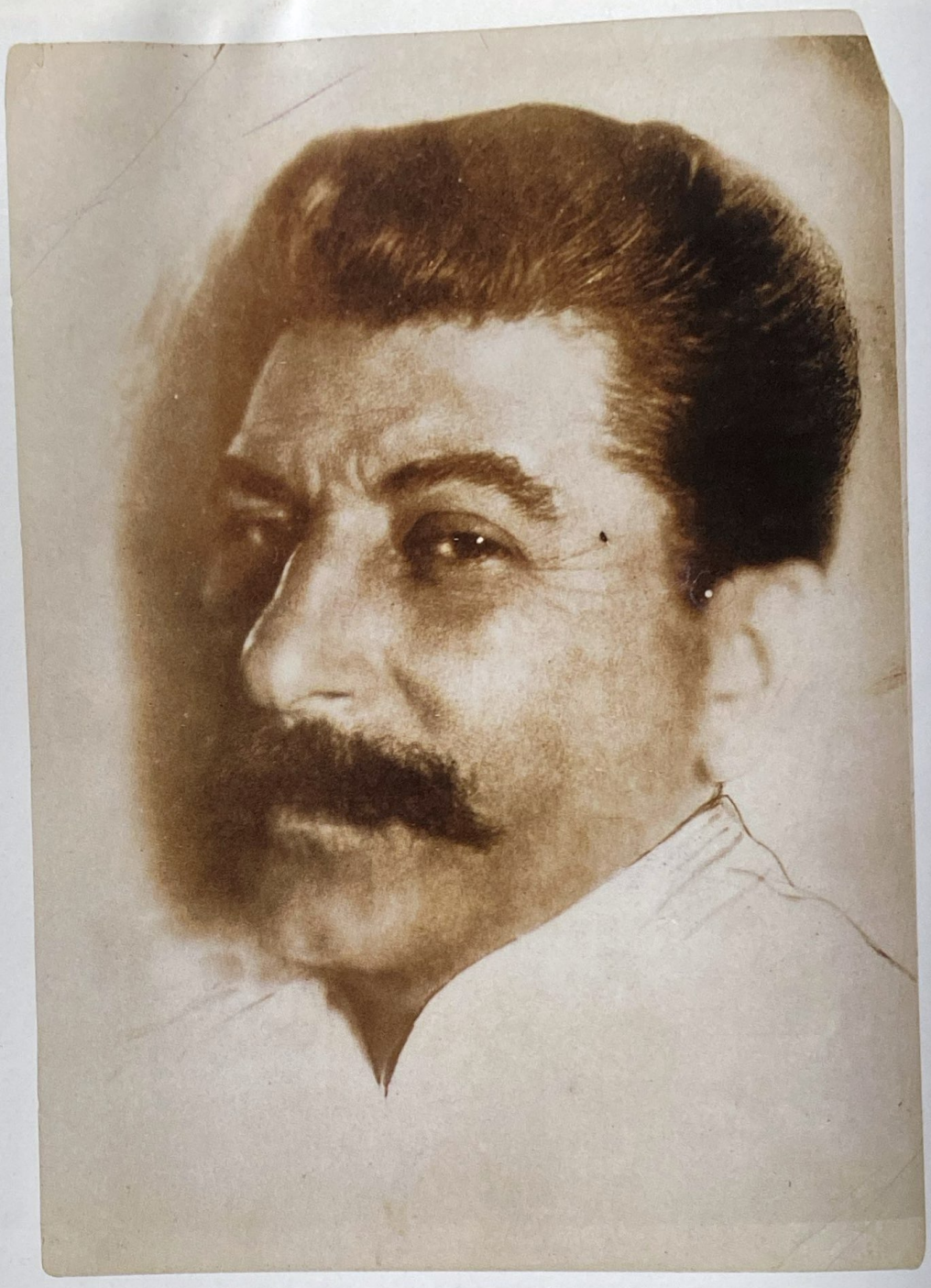


THE CANONIZATION OF LENIN

The Lenin cult, as orchestrated by Stalin, gained momentum from the day of his death. Plans were set in motion to construct huge museums and monuments all over the Soviet Union. Towns and factories were renamed. Paintings, sculptures, and a huge publishing drive sought to exploit his name and legacy. Among the mass of adulatory books and albums published to commemorate his death, one extraordinary volume more than five hundred pages long contained photographs of every wreath sent to his funeral, with detailed inscriptions and lists of signatories. A four-page newspaper simply titled *Lenin* appeared for one edition and for one day only. The protestations of Lenin's widow—"When he [Lenin] was alive he had no time for such things, he found such things oppressive"—were to no avail. It was absolutely necessary for Stalin's plan: the Lenin cult had to be established in order to lay the foundations for the Stalin cult that was to follow. In the 1930s Stalin became known as "The Lenin of Today." Two early and somewhat bizarre examples of the Lenin cult are shown here.

Opposite: Nikolai Strunnikov's unwittingly sinister portrait of a shrewd and calculating Lenin was painted in 1924 from a photograph taken in 1921.

Above: Design for a Lenin carpet, 1924, from Soviet Central Asia.

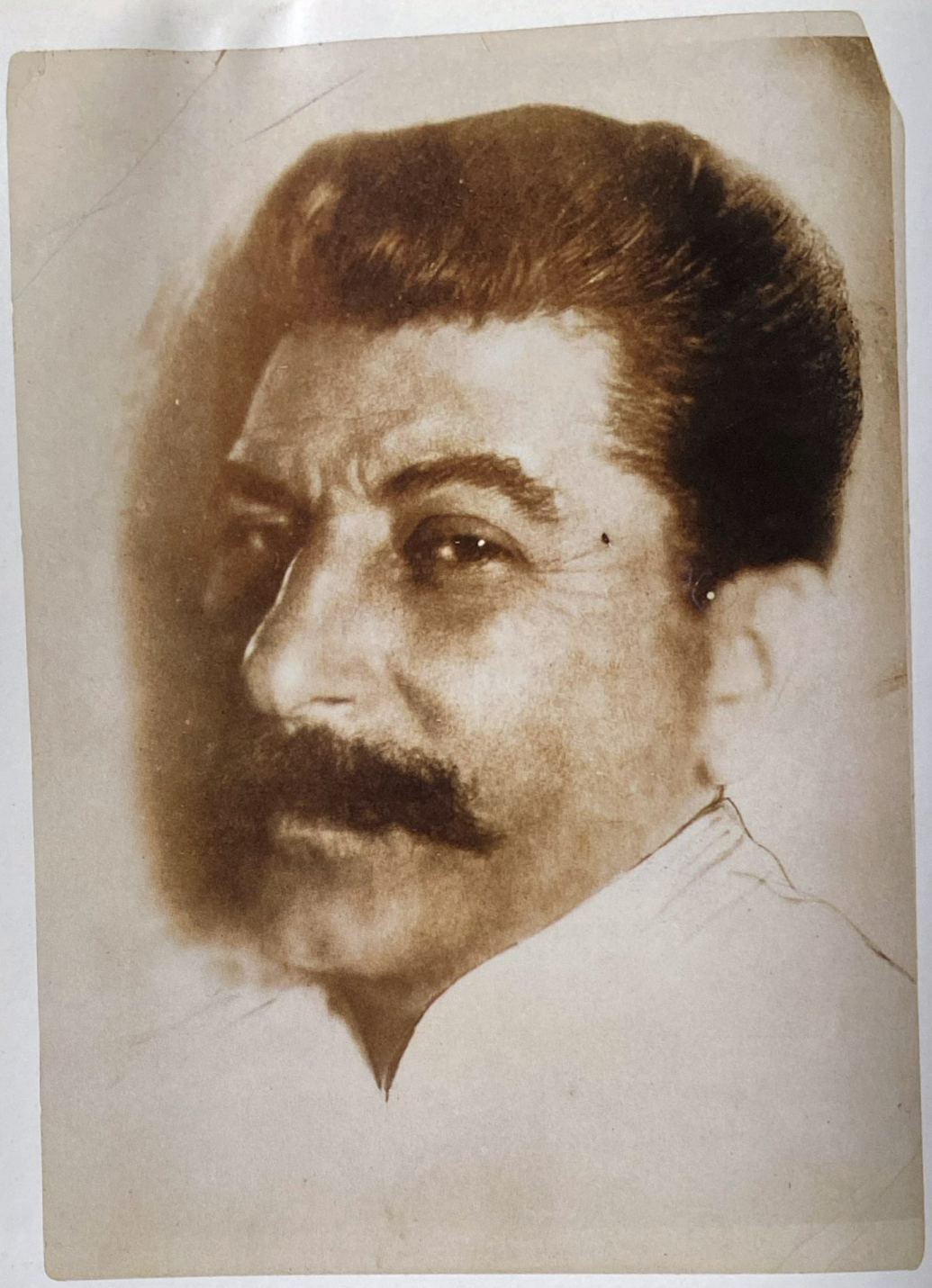


HOLLYWOOD, USSR

Portraits of Party leaders in the Soviet Union were often treated to vignetting, a process used since the beginning of photography. Clouding the edges of the photographic print, achieved with the airbrush, was particularly suited to the Stalinist hierarchy. The subjects took on an ethereal, almost godlike status, quite removed from reality.

Above: This photograph is an original print thought to be by Moisei Nappelbaum and taken in 1924. Although the background has been vignetted, the face has been only lightly retouched. When the same photograph was printed (*opposite*) in 1939 as part of a pictorial biography published to celebrate Stalin's sixtieth birthday, the retoucher's deft hand was there for all to see. Stalin's skin has been positively pancaked, his hair and mustache are now as smooth as a matinee idol's, and the glint in his eye is all that remains of the original.

This sort of vanity was often compounded by the film star's trick of using younger pictures than the captions allege; the birthday album slips the photograph into a section on the early 1930s, seven years after it was actually taken and when Stalin was on the wrong side of fifty.



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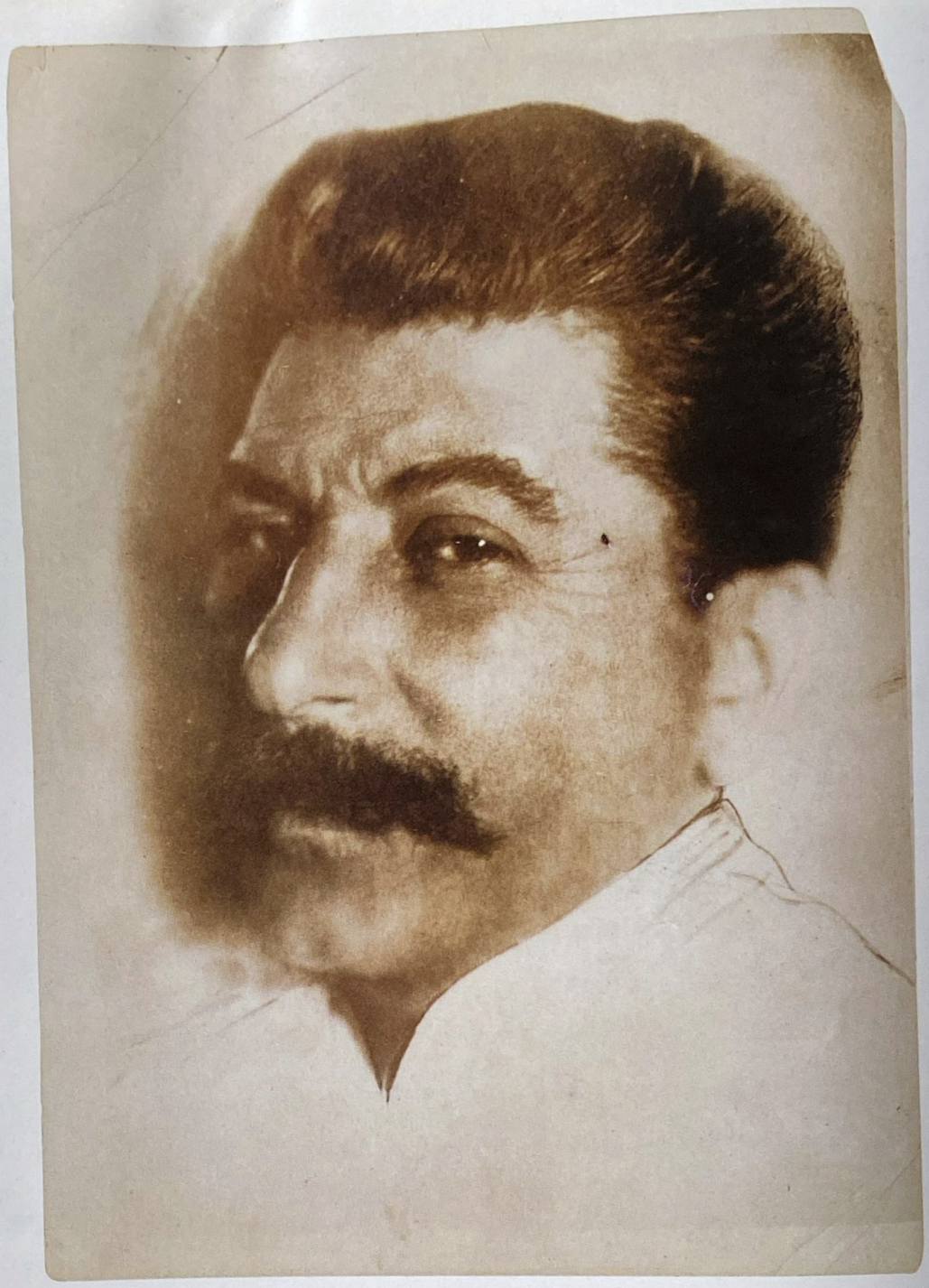

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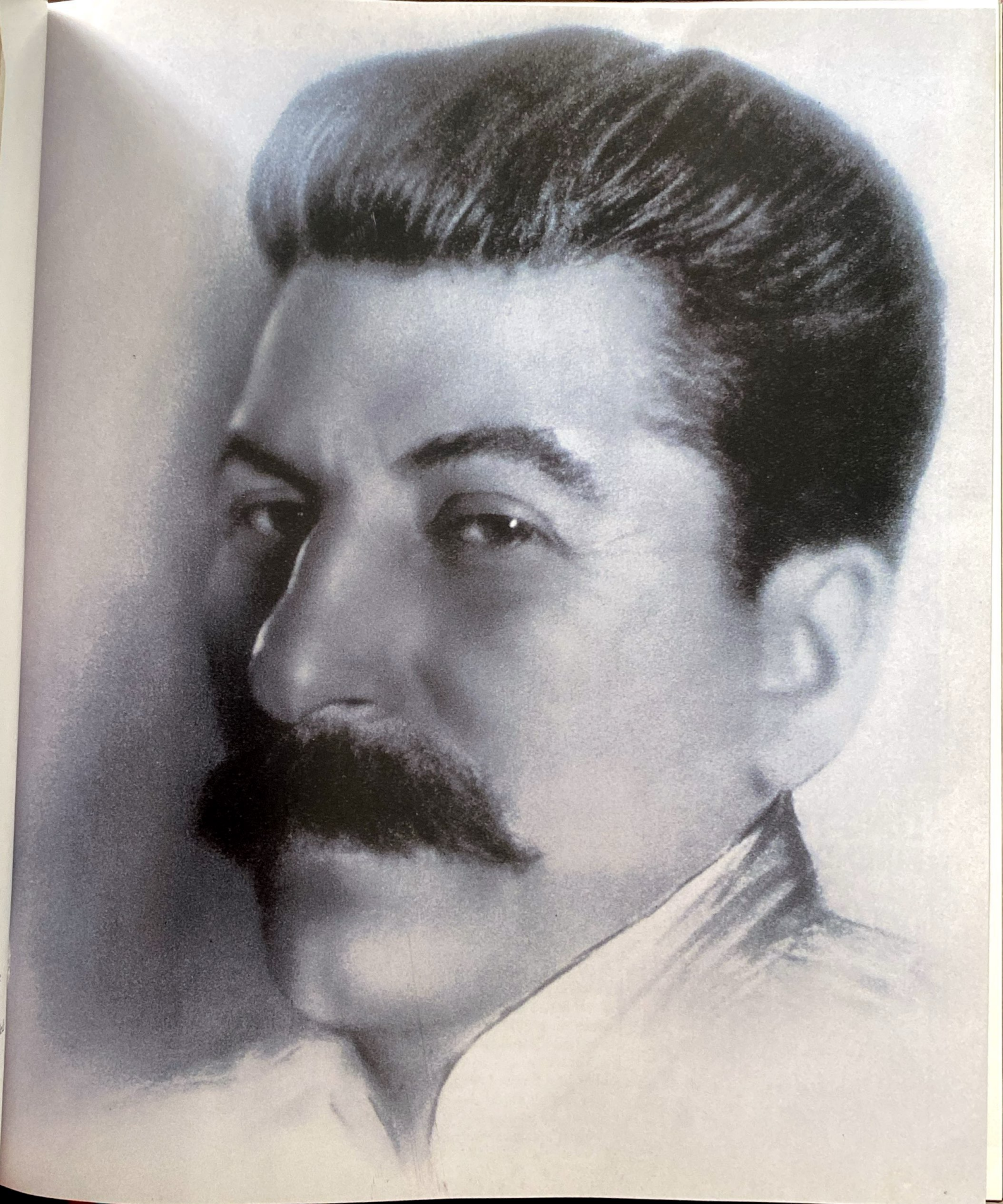


This group shot, taken at the Fourteenth Party Conference in April 1925, was to become a classic example of Stalinist photographic manipulation. Left to right can be seen: Mikhail Lashevich, Mikhail Frunze, Ivan Nikitich Smirnov, Alexei Rykov, Kliment Voroshilov, Stalin, Nikolai Skrypnik, Andrei Bubnov, Sergo Ordjonikidze, and Joseph Unschlicht.

LONG-TERM FRIENDSHIPS

Only one of Stalin's comrades in this picture would die from natural causes. Lashevich had been an active participant in the October Revolution and a commander in the Red Army during the Civil War. Stalin viciously attacked him in his speech to the conference, calling him a "schemer." Lashevich committed suicide in 1928.

Frunze died on the operating table in October 1925, possibly the victim of a medical murder instigated by the General Secretary.

Stalin had a special hatred for Smirnov, whom Lenin once described as "the conscience of the party." He was accused of Trotskyism and shot after the first Moscow show trial. His wife and daughter were arrested and shot by the GPU in 1937.

Rykov became chairman of the Council of People's Commissars after Lenin's death. He was branded a right-wing opportunist and sacked in 1929. He was shot in 1938 after the third Moscow trial.

Voroshilov, military commissar and friend of Stalin's, survived all the purges. He was criticized by Khrushchev after Stalin's death and forced to retire.

Skrypnik was a veteran Ukrainian Bolshevik who was accused by Stalin of Ukrainian nationalism, and shot himself in 1933. Bubnov's appointment as head of the political administration of the Red Army in the late 1920s did not prevent his arrest and death in the Gulag in 1940.

Ordjonikidze was a political commissar in the Red Army during the Civil War. He was a close supporter of Stalin's and a fellow Georgian. A key figure in the massive Five-Year Plan expansion programs, he committed suicide in 1937, at the height of the Great Purges, in protest against Stalin's murderous policies.

Unschlicht, another active participant in 1917, held various posts both in the Cheka and in Stalin's military command. He was arrested and shot in 1937.

The same photograph, published in two biographies of Stalin that appeared in 1939 and 1949, has been retouched and rearranged to reduce the group to four. Sixty percent of those present at the meeting were erased from history.

SOLEMN OCCASION

The funeral procession (*left*) for the head of the Cheka, Felix Dzerzhinsky, in July 1926. Days earlier, Trotsky had delivered a speech to the Central Committee arguing that Stalin and Nikolai Bukharin had abandoned revolutionary politics. In violent reaction, Dzerzhinsky screamed in his high-pitched voice for almost two hours at Trotsky, Kamenev, and the other oppositionists. As he stepped down from the platform, he suffered a heart attack and collapsed. He died the same day.

In the photograph, Rykov, Kamenev, Molotov, Bukharin, and Stalin bear Dzerzhinsky's coffin through the streets of Moscow. Trotsky is also visible on the opposite side. This was to be Trotsky's last official appearance in the Soviet Union. To the left, a column from the GPU makes its presence felt lining the gutter.

Top: A postcard published in the late 1930s with the caption "J. V. Stalin and F. E. Dzerzhinsky after a meeting of the Central Committee." The photograph shows neither Stalin nor the founder of the secret police but two actors playing their roles in the Soviet feature film *Lenin in 1918*, made in 1939. Stalin's part was played, as ever, by the Georgian Mikhail Gelovani.

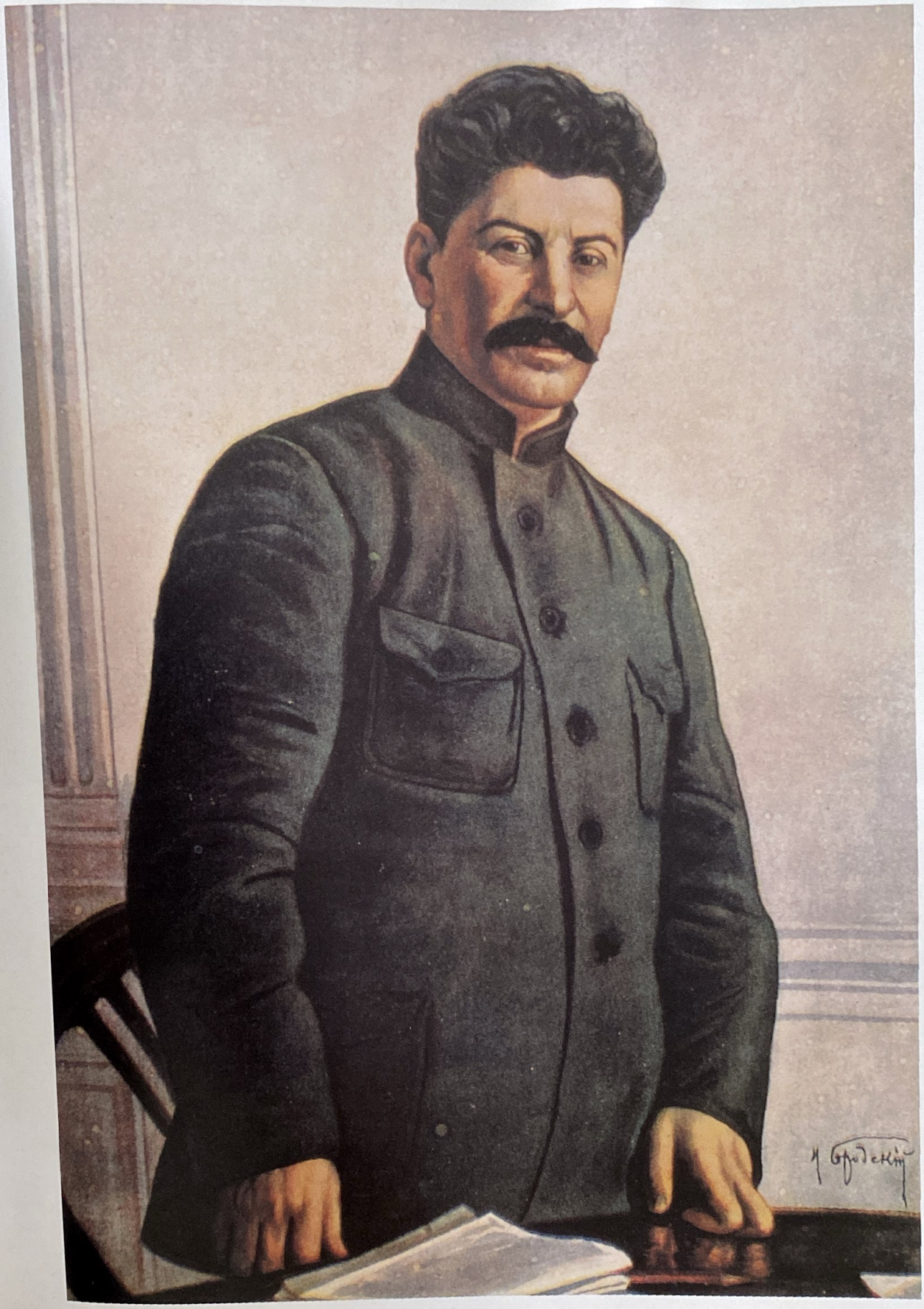
A photograph of Nikolai Antipov, Stalin, Sergei Kirov, and Nikolai Shvernik in Leningrad in 1926, celebrating the destruction of Zinoviev's anti-Stalinist opposition. Stalin had just made Kirov first secretary of the Leningrad party.

FOUR, THREE, TWO, ONE . . .

When the photograph *above* was published in the poorly printed *History of the USSR* (Moscow, 1940), Antipov and the chandelier had been deleted. He had joined the Bolsheviks in 1912, and was chairman of the Petrograd Cheka in 1918. He rose to become Prime Minister Molotov's deputy in the 1930s. He was arrested and sent to the infamous Orel prison, where he became the last leading Stalinist cadre to be shot, on August 24, 1941, as the Nazis were advancing toward Moscow.

Overleaf, left-hand page: It is unclear why Shvernik was also eclipsed from the picture, now heavily airbrushed, when it was used in *Joseph Stalin—A Short Biography* (Moscow, 1949). At the time the photograph was taken, he was secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In 1946, Stalin made Shvernik head of state, a post he held until Stalin's death in 1953.

Overleaf, right-hand page: In this obsequious oil painting by Isaak Brodsky, based on the original photograph and made in 1929, Stalin the executioner alone remains.



Above: Mikhail Tomsky (back row, left) and President Kalinin (seated second from left) in Leningrad with unidentified Party functionaries in 1927. Tomsky, a printer, had been president of the Congress of Trade Unions since 1919. He joined with Bukharin and Rykov in their antipathy toward Trotsky, but in 1929 he boldly criticized Stalin's disastrous program of collectivization of the peasantry. He was accused of "right deviationism" and struck off the Politburo. After the first Moscow show trial, when the press was running a virulent campaign against "hidden Trotskyites," Chief Prosecutor Vyshinsky called for full exposure of these "despicable terrorists." After one particularly unpleasant attack in *Pravda*, Tomsky shot himself. He left a suicide note to Stalin pleading for mercy for his family. Stalin had them arrested. Tomsky was the only genuinely working-class member of Stalin's Politburo.

Kalinin avoided becoming a victim of the purges himself, but his position as head of state did not stop Stalin from arresting his wife, Yekaterina, in 1938. She spent eight years in the Gulag, and was released only in the year of her husband's death.

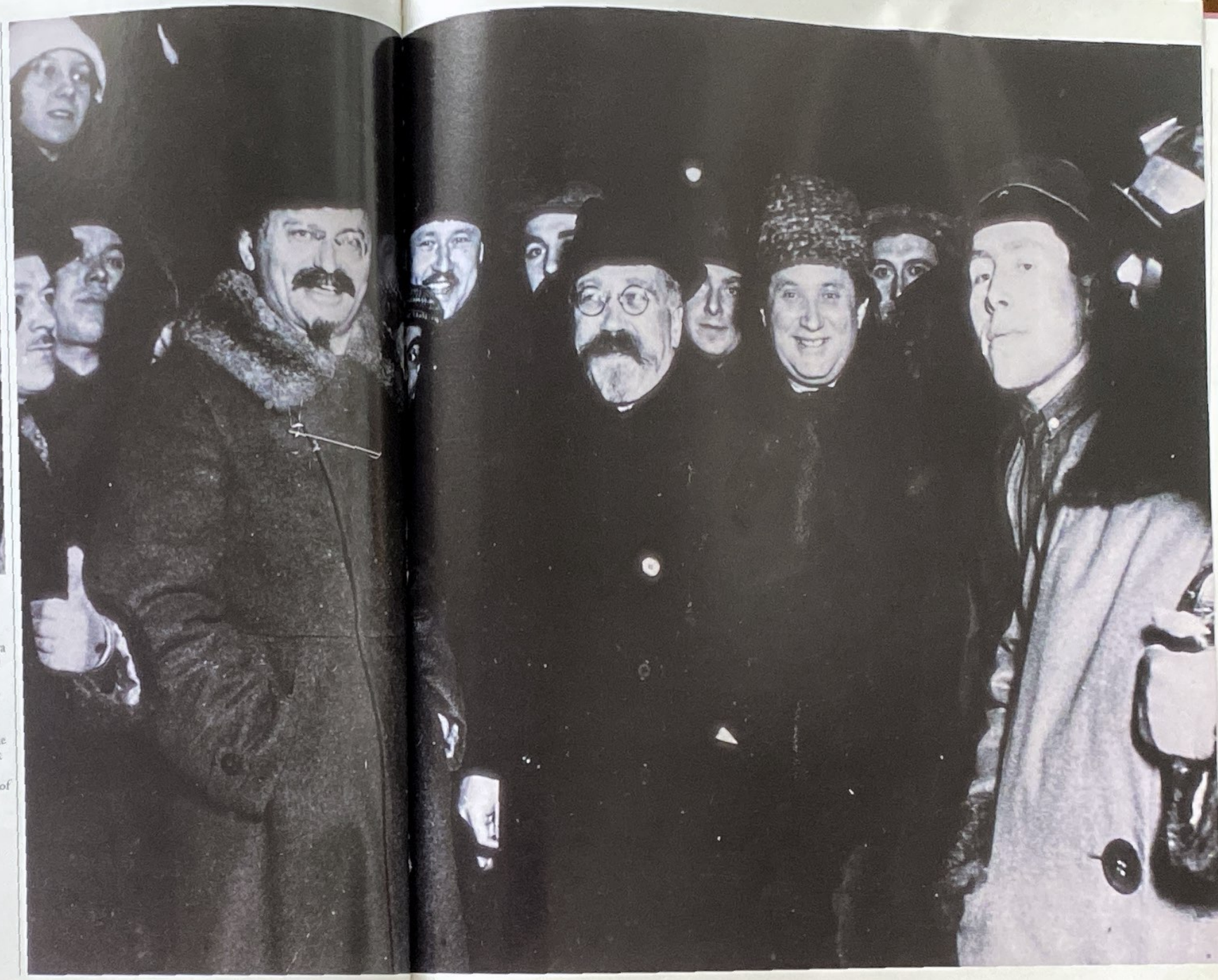
Left and (detail) opposite: A most vicious attack in pen and ink on Tomsky and another comrade—by persons unknown—on a copy of the above photograph found in Soviet archives.

A SAVAGE ATTACK ON THE WORKING CLASS

CRUEL MOSCOW

Top: Trotsky's persistent ill health during the 1920s necessitated numerous sojourns in climates friendlier than the cruel Moscow winter. On one such visit to Georgia in 1924, he and his wife, Natalya Sedova, were photographed in the backseat of an automobile behind Sergo Ordjonikidze, who was active at this time in installing Soviet power in the Caucasus. A monograph on Ordjonikidze published to celebrate his fiftieth birthday in 1936 reproduces the photograph slightly cropped (*above*), with a certain "Comrade Masnikov" and another man moved in to block out Trotsky and Natalya. At the time the book was printed, Trotsky was in exile in Norway, railing against the Moscow trials.

Right: Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, and comrades in a rare moment of oppositionist optimism in the mid-1920s.



OGPU

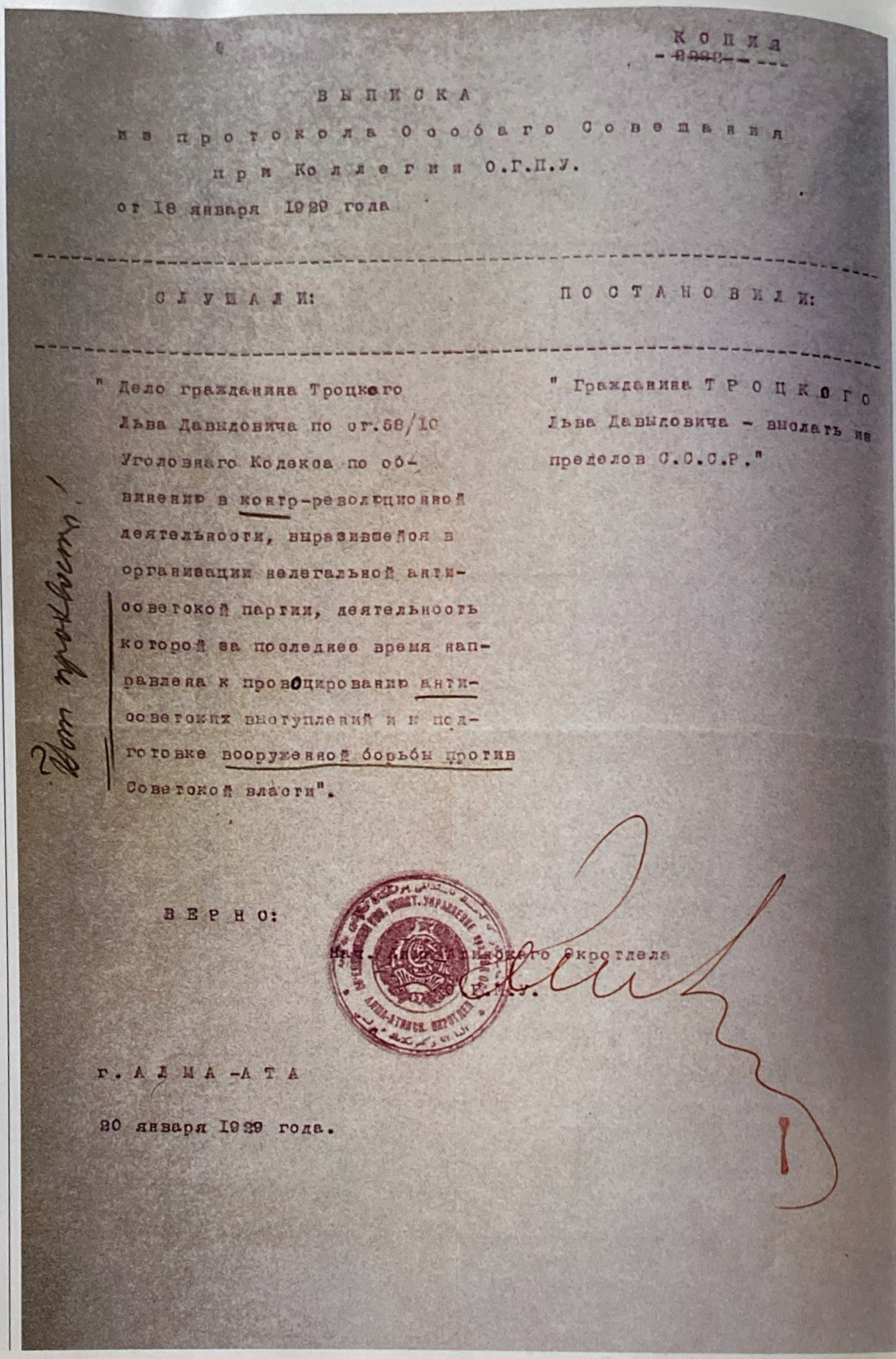
Trotsky's own copy of his expulsion order from the USSR, which has never before been published. Certain of the more outrageous accusations have been underlined by Trotsky, who has also written in the margin, "The scoundrels." The full text follows:

Copy. Extract from the minutes of the special session of the Directorate of the OGPU, January 18, 1929.

We have heard: "The case of citizen Trotsky Lev Davidovich in accordance with article 58 clause 10 of the criminal code accusing him of counterrevolutionary activities, expressed in the organization of an illegal anti-Soviet party whose recent activities have been aimed at provoking anti-Soviet speeches and the preparation of armed struggle against Soviet power."

We have decreed: "To expel citizen Trotsky Lev Davidovich from the territory of the USSR."

Validated: By the chief of the Alma-Ata Section of the OGPU, January 20, 1929.



КОПИЯ

ВЫПИСКА

из протокола Особаго Совещания

при Коллегии О.Г.П.У.

от 18 января 1929 года

СЛУШАЛИ: | ПОСТАНОВИЛИ:

" Дело гражданина Троцкаго Льва Давидовича по ст.58/10 Уголовнаго Кодекса по обвинению в контр-революционной деятельности, выразившейся в организации нелегальной антисоветской партии, деятельность которой за последнее время направлена к провоцированию антисоветских выступлений и к подготовке вооруженной борьбы против Советской власти".

" Гражданина ТРОЦКОГО Льва Давыдовича - выслать за пределы С.С.С.Р."

Вот мерзавцы!

ВЕРНО:

Нач. Алма-Атинского окротдела

г. АЛМА-АТА

20 января 1929 года.

GPU

A poster for the GPU dated 1930 by Viktor Deni, a caricaturist who began his political life as a Menshevik. The lightning bolt, which spells out "GPU," strikes the head of a demonic character labeled "Counterrevolutionary wrecker."

Stalin's contempt for the ordinary worker is shown clearly in two versions of the same picture taken at the time of the Sixteenth Party Congress in 1930.

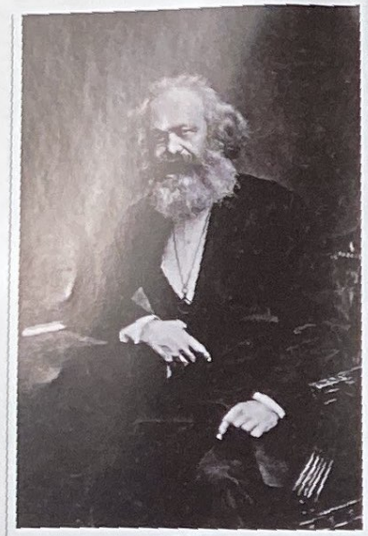
In the original photograph (*above*) an attendant is seen pointing his finger, helpfully directing the "Boss" (*Vhozd*), as he was often known. When the photograph was printed in *Projector* magazine (*above right*) soon afterward, no humble worker was there to tell Stalin where to go.

The Sixteenth Party Congress was characterized by its abject subservience to Stalin and his ruthless policies. There were wholesale expulsions of trade-union Communists whom Stalin attacked for trying to defend the interests of the workers against those of the state. In spite of the devastating assault on the countryside and the massacre of millions of peasants that had been taking place under the slogan "Liquidate the Kulaks as a Class," a long and determined battle was deemed still to be necessary to complete the collectivization of agriculture.

Opposite: Collective farm laborers set off to work in the fields, Uzbekistan, 1930.

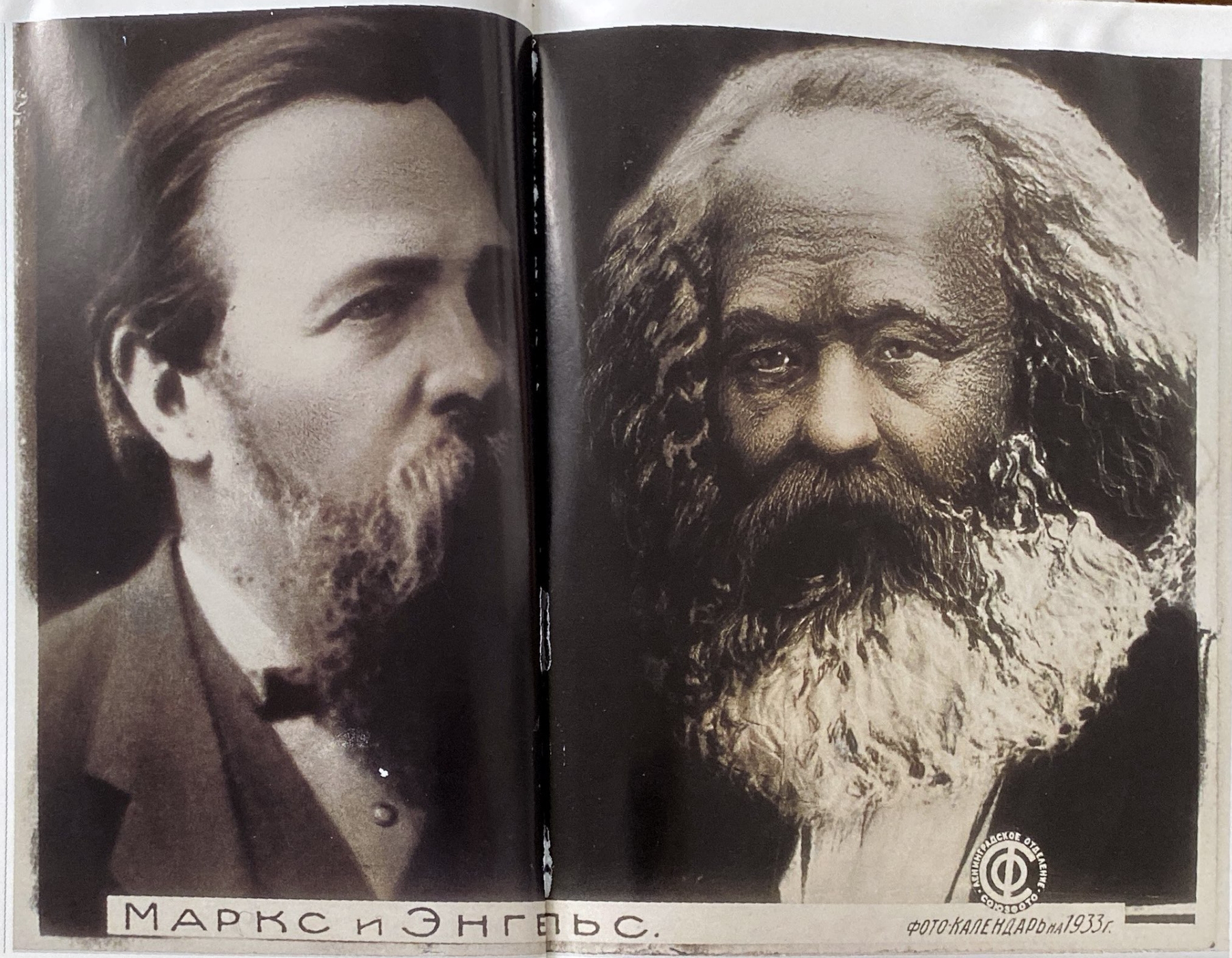
Left: A photograph of Stalin and his second wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva (*center*), with the Voroshilovs and a guard picnicking in Georgia during the summer of 1930. Stalin's coldness and rudeness toward his young wife contributed to her deep depression, and on the night of November 8, 1932, she killed herself. Stalin did not attend the funeral, and lived out the rest of his life alone. The photograph was taken by Lieutenant General Vlasik, Stalin's chief of personal security.

THE BOSS



OLDER AND WISER

Right: A postcard of Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx published by Soyuzfoto in Leningrad in 1933 on the fiftieth anniversary of Marx's death. The picture is a photomontage joining together a portrait of Engels taken in Brighton, England, in 1877 (*above*) with a heavily retouched one of Marx, the original of which had been taken in London on August 24, 1875 (*top*). Both men were fifty-seven years old when the original photographs were taken. The purpose of dramatically aging Marx in the photomontage seems to have been to show him as a wiser and more venerable sage compared to the youthful Engels. In fact, there were only two years between them.



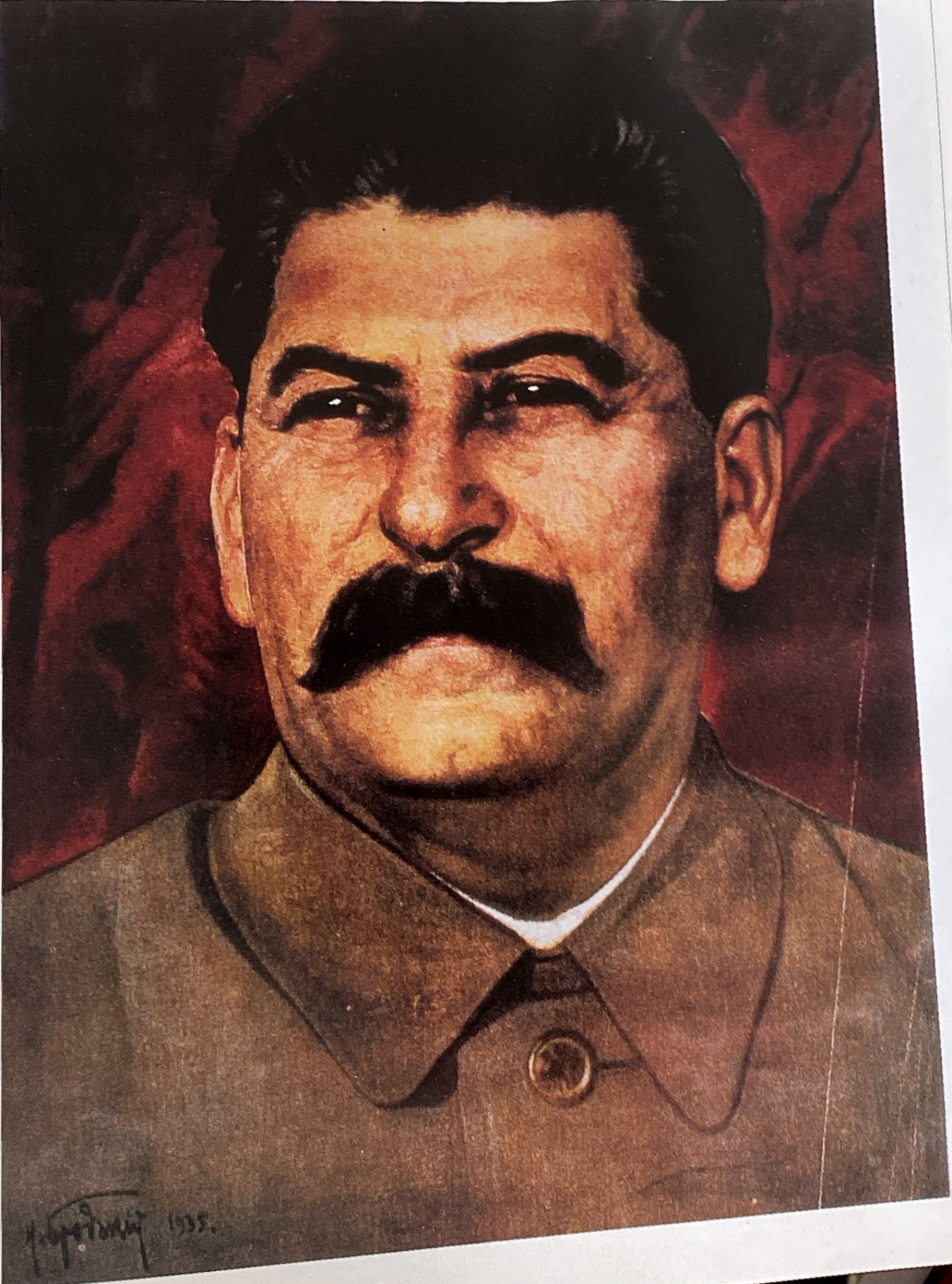
SOVIET CITIZENS

The lead story in the March 1934 issue of *Projector* magazine concerned the arrival in Moscow of three Bulgarian Communists (welcomed by Stalin and others, *top*). The trio (Georgii Dimitrov, Blagoi Popov, and Vasil Tanev) had been accused of setting fire to the Reichstag in Berlin and prosecuted by Goering at a famous trial in Leipzig. They put on a brilliant defense and were acquitted by the Nazi court. They were each given Soviet citizenship. Left to right can be seen: Sergo Ordjonikidze, Dmitri Manuilsky, Wilhelm Knorin, Vyacheslav Molotov, Lazar Kaganovich, Kliment Voroshilov, Georgii Dimitrov, Valerian

Kuibyshev, Joseph Stalin, Popov, and Tanev.

Three years later, Popov and Tanev were condemned by a Soviet court on false charges. This accounts for their departure from this late-1930s retouched version (*center*). Knorin, a Latvian, was also dispensed with. He was later tortured with a hot iron to his neck for "nationalist deviations." In a Bulgarian homage to Stalin published in 1949 (*left*), Ordjonikidze and Manuilsky have also disappeared from view. Dimitrov became premier of Bulgaria in 1946, so perhaps it was on his orders that Manuilsky, a ruthless Stalinist, had to be ejected.

Opposite: A portrait of Stalin in 1935, by Isaak Brodsky.


1935.

MURDERERS

Left: Published for the first time, this remarkable photograph shows the prosecutor-general of the Supreme Soviet, Andrei Vyshinsky (seventh from left, front row), with his staff of 228 men and women in the courtyard of their factory of death in Moscow. It was taken on April 23, 1934. These are the faces of the bureaucrats who processed the lies, in the guise of socialist justice, that sent millions of people to be destroyed in the Gulag. Hand in glove with their friends in the NKVD, they invented extremes of interrogation and torture to break their victims' minds and bodies. Less than eight months after this photograph was taken, a law was passed ordering death sentences to be executed immediately. In the Lubyanka, some were shot in the back of the head on the stairs to the basement, others in the basement itself.

Seated second from the left in the front row can be seen Vasilii Ulrikh. This notorious trial judge had been dispatching countless thousands to their deaths since 1920. Sixth from the left, in worker's cap, is Nikolai Krylenko, the people's commissar of justice. His fearful reputation was made at the major political trials of Mensheviks and others at the turn of the decade, where he performed the task of chief public prosecutor. Stalin, who disliked Krylenko personally, had him arrested and shot without trial in 1938.

Vyshinsky and Ulrikh reported regularly to Stalin with lists of the latest executions and requests for advice on further sentencing procedures. During the "Campaign of Vigilance" in 1937, Vyshinsky, with Nikolai Yezhov's help, carried out his own murderous purge on the procuracy itself. Many of those photographed here would not live to see the end of the decade. Both Vyshinsky and Ulrikh survived the purges and died in the 1950s.

ASSASSINS

Sergei Kirov (mourned *above*, lying in state) was assassinated on December 1, 1934 by a student. Mystery still shrouds the real reason for the killing of the Leningrad party boss because the full report of the original investigation has never been released. What is known, however, is that Stalin feared Kirov's immense popularity and considered him a threat to his leadership. Kirov's speech at the Seventeenth Party Congress had called for reconciliation after the terrible upheavals associated with collectivization. The speech was received with great acclaim from the party delegates. No reconciliation followed his death. In a purge labeled "the assassins of Kirov," thousands of Trotskyists, Zinovievists, and even Stalinists were rounded up and sent to the camps. The terror had begun in earnest.

ARCHITECTURAL RETOUCHING

The headquarters of the secret police, which had been, before the 1917 revolution, the offices of the Yakor Insurance Company. During the 1930s the Lubyanka, as it is known, became a nonstop conveyor belt of punishment and death operating within the heart of Moscow.

The transformation of its giant exterior, as prerevolutionary Baroque was swallowed up by Brezhnevite concrete, can be seen here, in photographs taken in 1917 (*top*), 1976, and 1984 (*right*)—retouching on an enormous scale.

Dzerzhinsky's statue stood in the middle of Lubyanka Square. One night in 1991, toward the end of Soviet power, the 40-ton monument was torn down (*right*). The plinth remains. Occasionally a cross is stuck on it.

Control of the secret police was essential for Stalin to tighten his grip over the Party apparatus and the country as a whole. By the mid-1930s the NKVD had become a "state within a state" supported by an acquiescent judiciary who ruled that all opposition to Stalin's policies was "criminal." The prison camp system meanwhile ruthlessly crushed tens of millions of lives in a gigantic network that spanned the whole Soviet Union. *Opposite:* An NKVD officer's badge.

НКВД

WARM WELCOME IN RED SQUARE

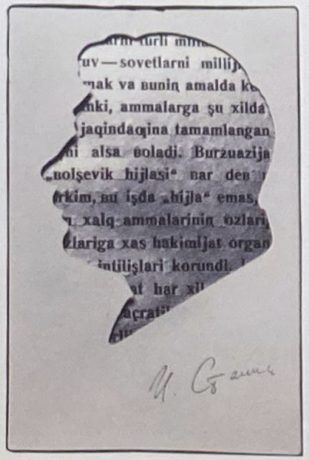
Stalin and members of the Politburo *(above)* in Red Square, Moscow, to welcome the return of the captain and crew of the *Chelyuskin*, June 19, 1934. The explorers had camped on a polar reef for two months after their ship had run aground in the Arctic Circle. The entire crew was eventually saved by Soviet fliers in a heroic rescue operation. *Opposite:* When the photograph was printed in a mammoth volume honoring the exercise, some refinements had been made. The onlookers to the left have all disappeared. Lazar Kaganovich, the heavy-industry boss who was obscured by Voroshilov (second from the right in the original), has now been planted behind Kuibyshev (right). His waving hand (see original) has gone, but a lump of his shoulder has been left just behind Voroshilov's. Most thoughtfully, the retouchers have cleared up the litter under the commissar's boots.

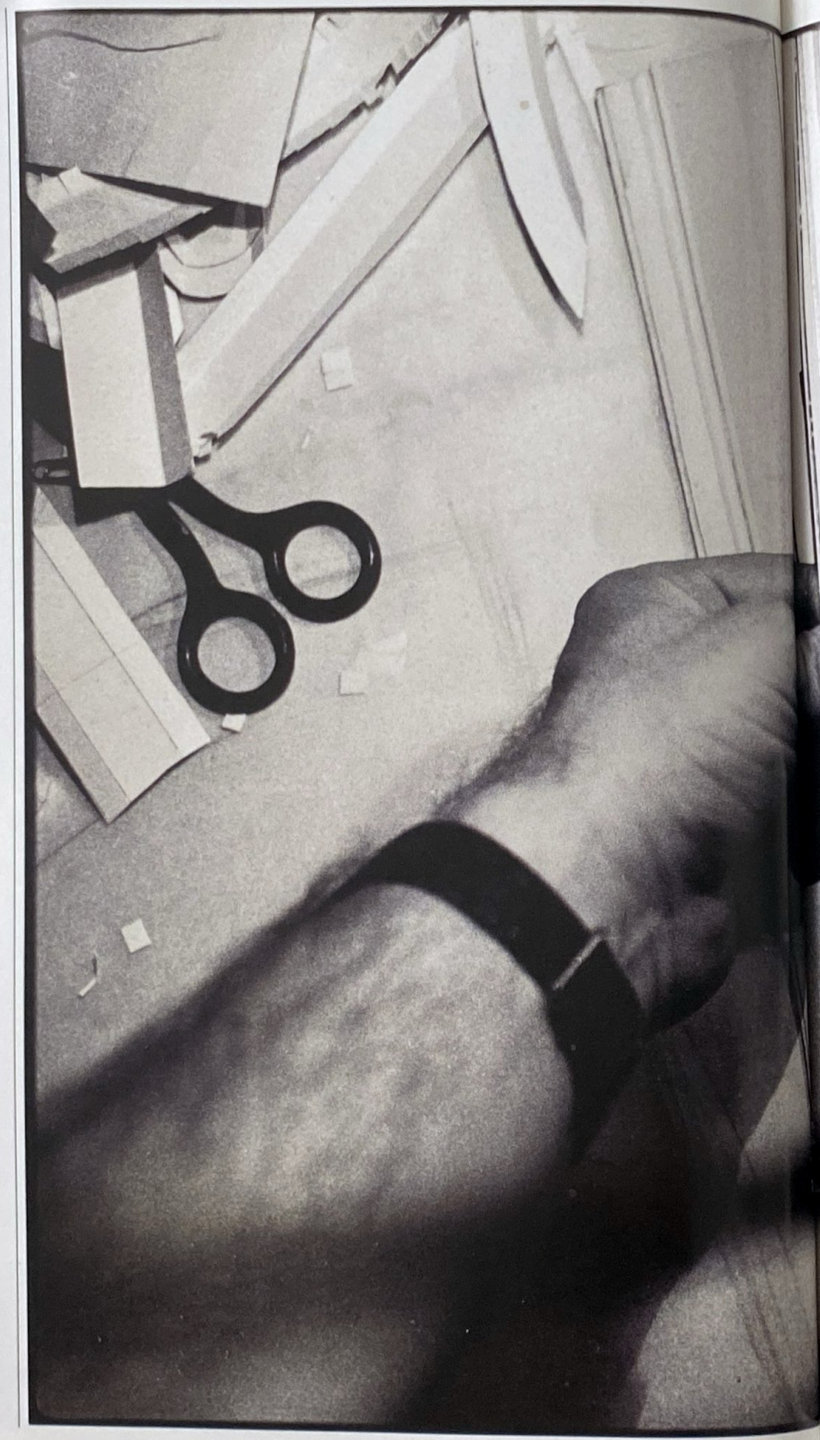
СССР

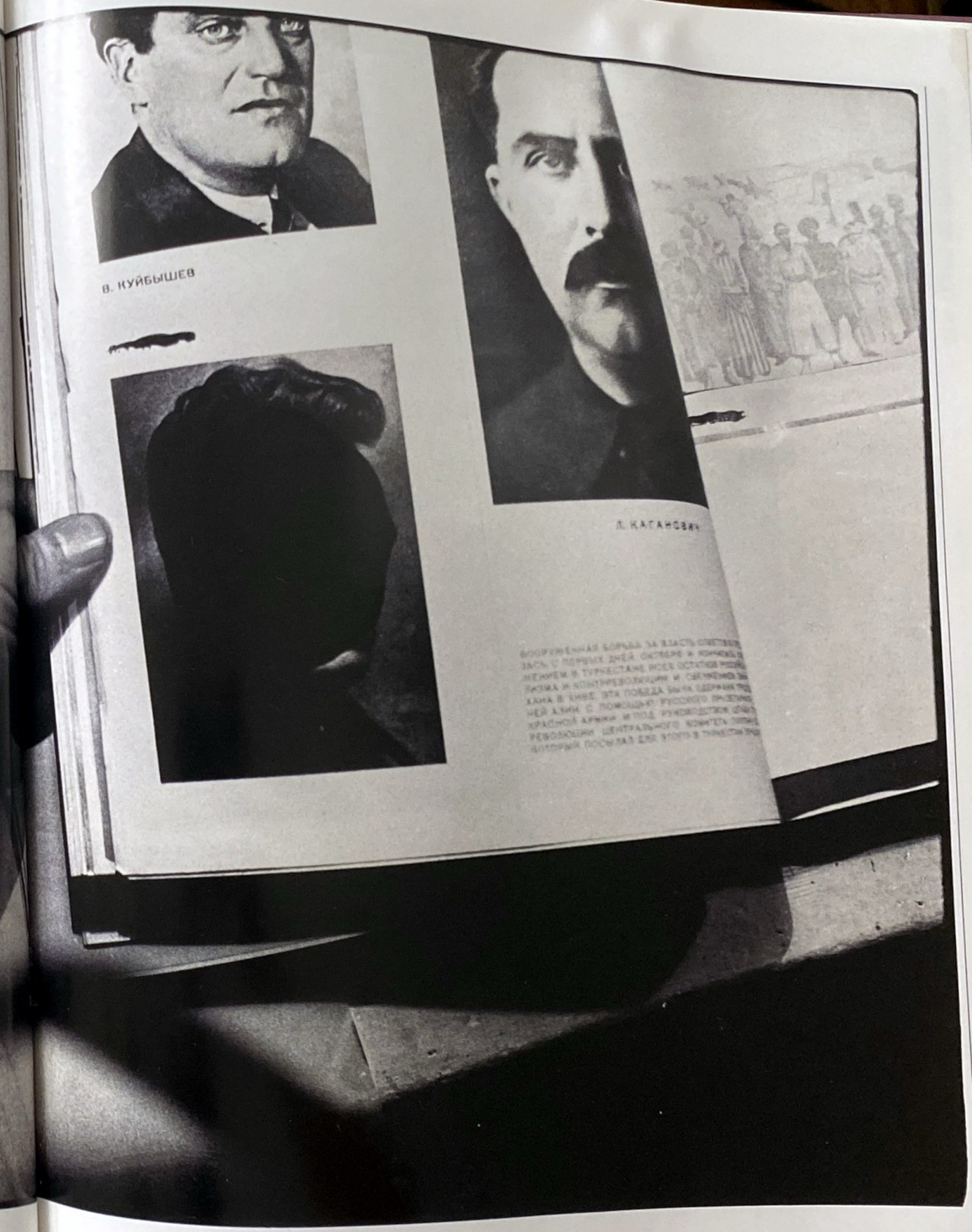
TEN YEARS OF UZBEKISTAN

In 1934 the artist Alexander Rodchenko was commissioned by the state publishing house OGIZ to design the album *Ten Years of Uzbekistan* (photographed *right* and *below*) celebrating a decade of Soviet rule in that state. It was a hefty piece of work, weighed down with mug shots of bureaucrats and endless fake statistics. Nevertheless, the book was interesting due to Rodchenko's skillful design techniques: gatefolds, acetates, embossing, bold photo layouts, full-color and duotone printing. The Russian edition appeared in 1934, and the Uzbek edition, with some politically induced changes, in 1935. But in 1937, at the height of the Great Purges, Stalin ordered a major overhaul of the Uzbek leadership, and heads began to roll.

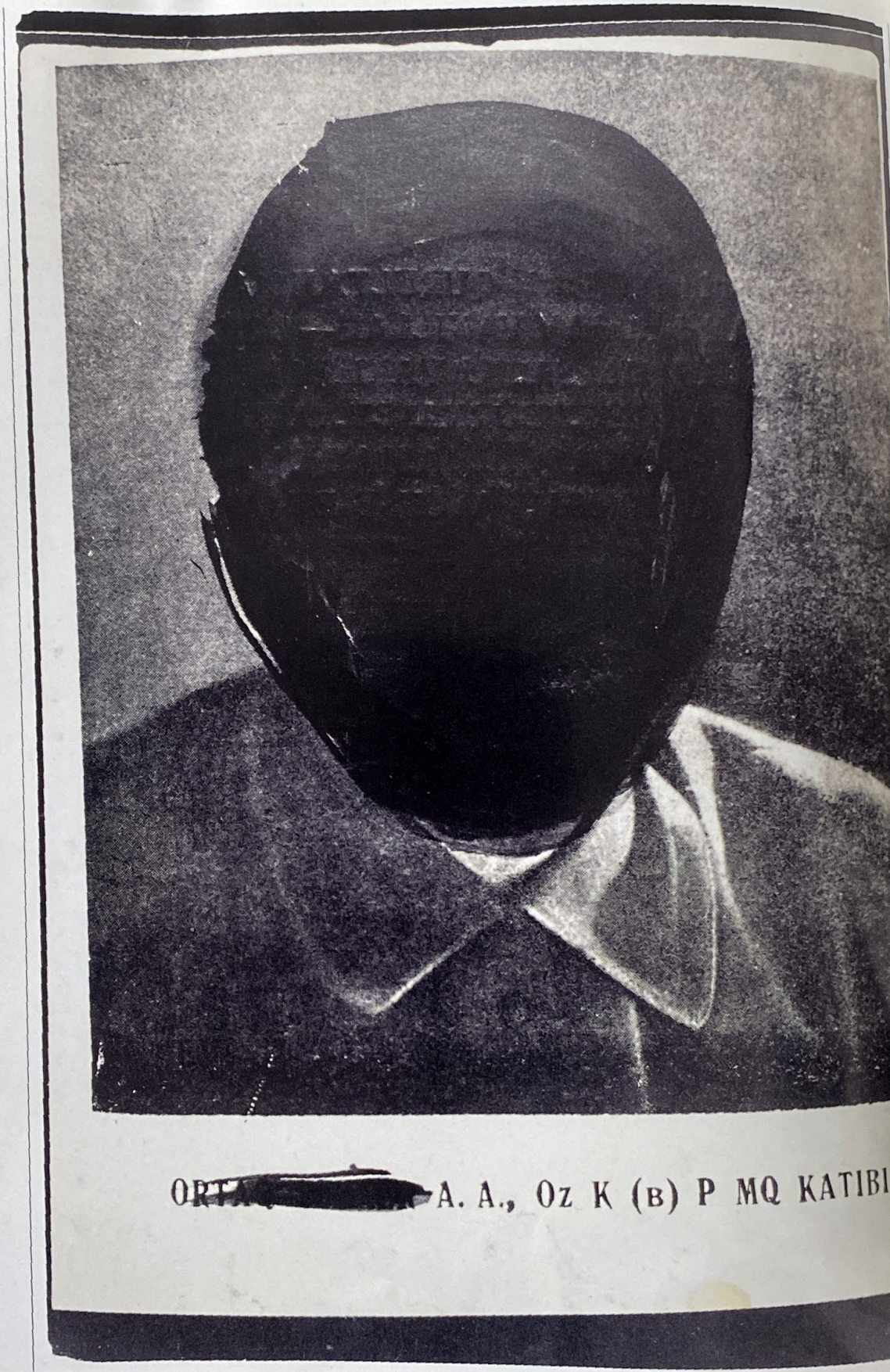
Many Party bosses photographed in *Ten Years of Uzbekistan* were liquidated. The album suddenly became illegal literature. Using thick black India ink, Rodchenko was compelled to deface his own book. The macabre results are both brutal and terrifying. On the following six pages can be seen the original photographs of five men and one woman alongside the images defaced by Rodchenko's hand.





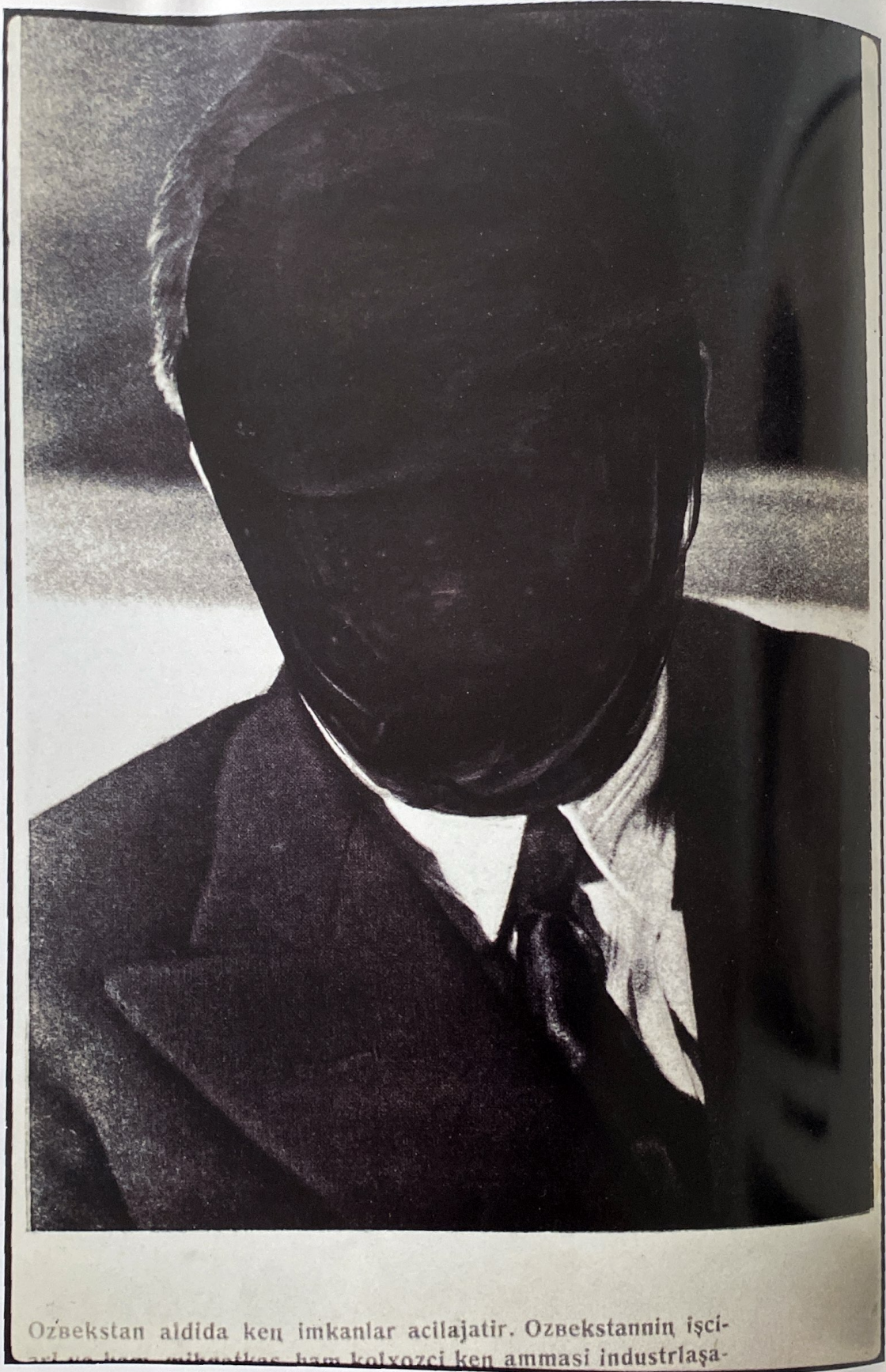


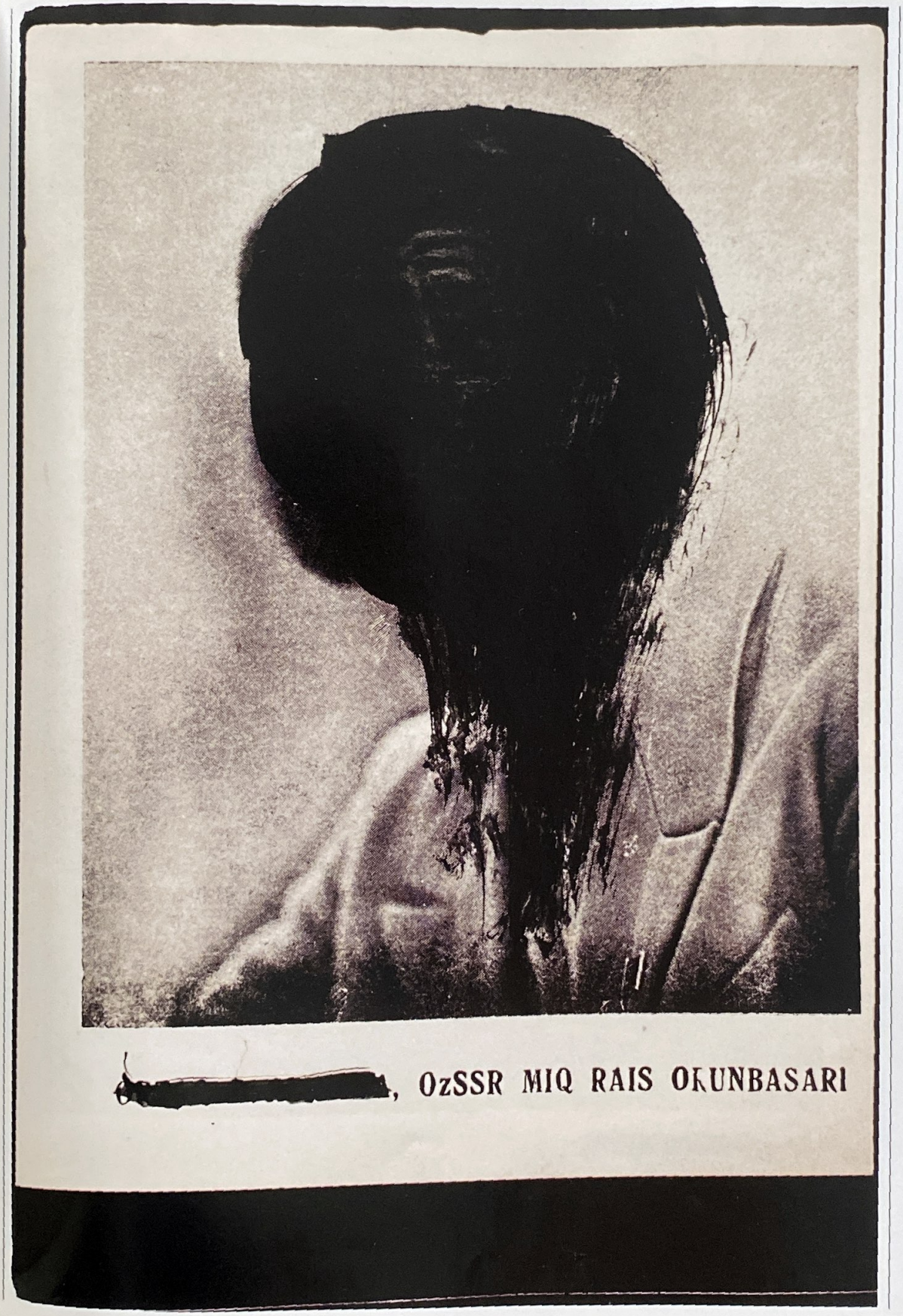
A. A. Tsexer, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. Exact fate unknown.



Akmal Ikramov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. Arrested on Stalin's orders, tried, and shot with Bukharin, Faizulla Khodzhaev, and others after the show trial of 1938. Apparently, Stalin had not forgotten Ikramov's speech at the so-called Congress of Victors in 1934, in which Ikramov had warned of "self conceit." He was expelled from the Party and handed over to the NKVD on September 12, 1937. The Party membership in Tashkent, on hearing of his arrest, greeted the news "with warm applause."

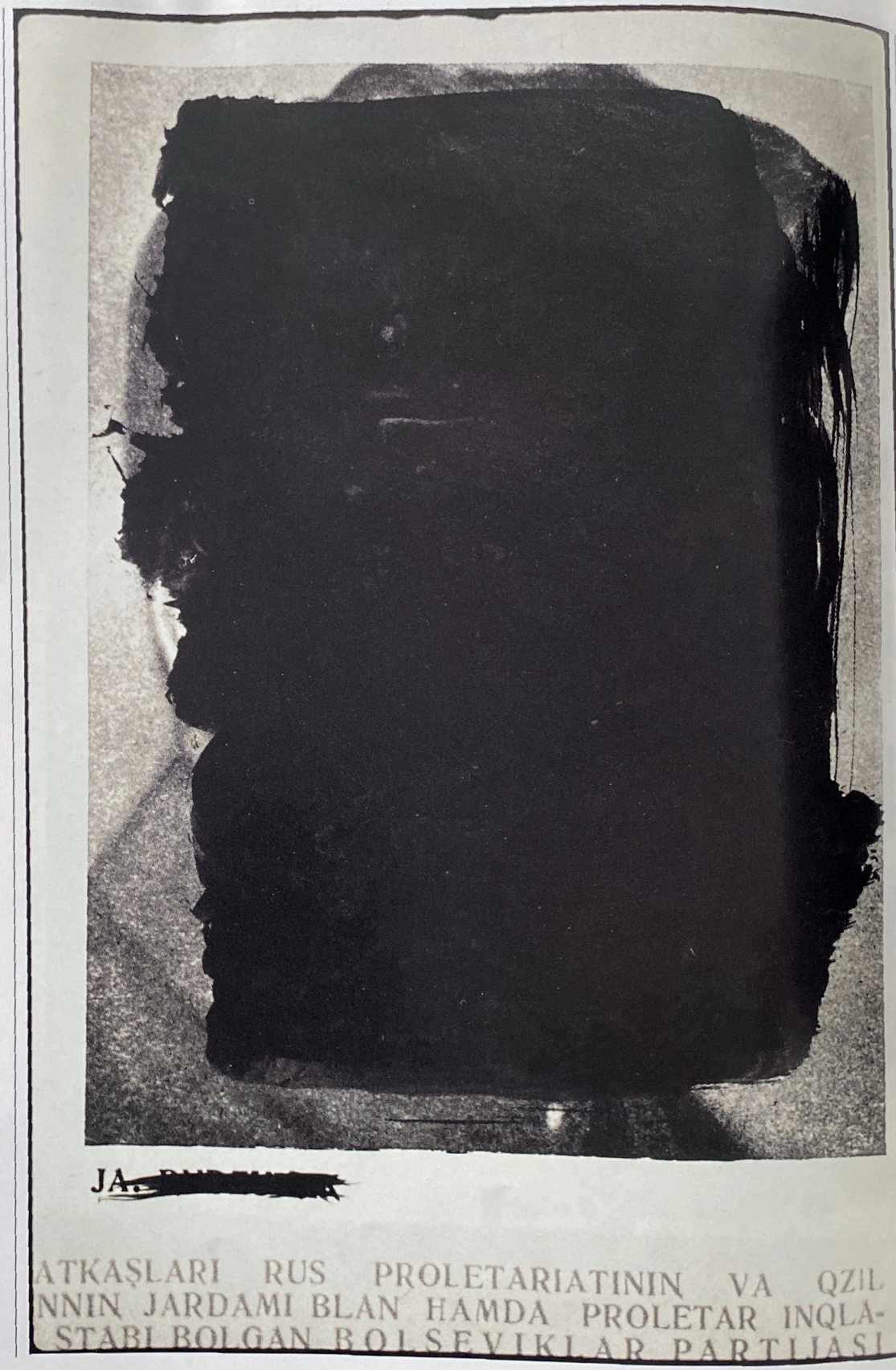
Faizulla Khodzhaev, Soviet chairman of commissars in Uzbekistan. Cofounder of the nationalist Young Bokhara movement. Did not join the Bolsheviks until 1922. Arrested on Stalin's orders, accused of bourgeois nationalism and conspiring to deliver Central Asia into the hands of the British. Tried and shot with Bukharin and others in 1938.

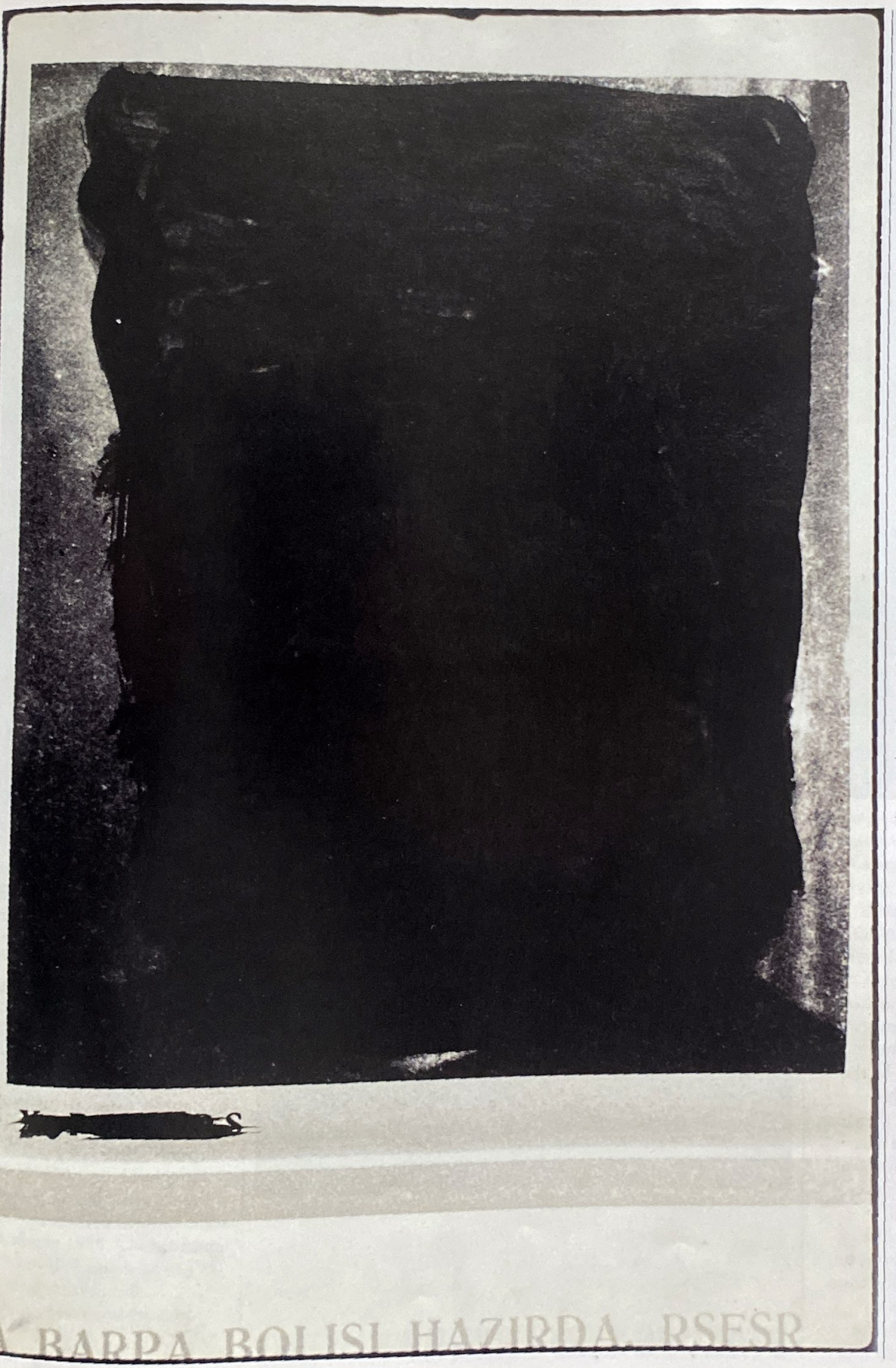




D. Abidova, member of the Council of People's Commissars in Uzbekistan. Her exact fate is unknown.

Yan Rudzutak, a Latvian from the prerevolutionary underground. Party member since 1905. Spent ten years in tsarist prisons. Supported Stalin's rise to power. Became candidate member of the Politburo in 1926. Opposed Stalin's more grandiose proposals during the first Five-Year Plan, but his astute objections were swept aside. He was arrested at a party in May 1937. Among the guests also arrested were four women who were seen, three months later, in the Butyrka prison, still in their bedraggled evening dresses. On July 28, 1937, Yezhov sent Stalin a list of 138 names. Stalin scrawled "Shoot all 138." Rudzutak's name was on the list. The trumped-up charges included "spying for Germany."





Yakov Peters, notoriously sadistic Latvian who was appointed deputy director of the Cheka soon after the Revolution. He worked in the East End of London from 1909 to 1917. Married an Englishwoman, May Freeman. Member of the British Labor Party. Chief of Internal Defense in Petrograd in 1919, where his work included the signing of innumerable death warrants. Key figure in the GPU, elected member of the Party Central Committee. Arrested and shot on Stalin's orders, in 1938. His daughter, who was a famous ballet dancer, was also arrested.

Above: Stalin and members of the Central Committee at the Seventeenth Party Congress, Moscow, late January 1934. Left to right, standing: Abel Yenukidze, Kliment Voroshilov, Lazar Kaganovich, and Valerian Kuibyshev. Seated: Sergo Ordjonikidze, Stalin, Vyacheslav Molotov, and Sergei Kirov.

Right: Abel Yenukidze was expelled from the Party by the Central Committee in June 1935. Not surprisingly, therefore, in the edition of *Pravda* that broke the news of the decision, he was described as a "typical specimen of a corrupted, degenerate, Menshevik-like Communist." Furthermore, he was accused of "rotten liberalism." In reality Yenukidze was an inoffensive character who for many years had organized the difficult task of the day-to-day administration of the Kremlin. His great mistake, as far as his old friend Stalin was concerned, had been his opposition to the terror that had been launched in the aftermath of the Kirov assassination in December 1934. Eighteen months prior to his expulsion, Yenukidze had made a speech to the delegates at the Seventeenth Party Congress saying that "Comrade Stalin was surrounded by the best people in our party."

There had been 1,961 delegates at this congress. No fewer than 1,108 of them were later liquidated.

STALIN'S OLD FRIEND

Above: The seven joint chairmen of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR in 1935, with the secretary to the committee, Abel Yenukidze, standing behind them. Most of the assembled would soon come to grief. Left to right: Faizulla Khodzhaev (Uzbekistan), G. Musabekov (Transcaucasia), Grigorii Petrovsky (Ukraine), Mikhail Kalinin (Russian Federation), A. Chervyakov (Byelorussia), A. Rakhimbayev (Tajikistan), and N. Aitakov (Turkmenistan). Khodzhaev was shot in 1938. Beria personally arrested Musabekov and had him shot, also in 1938. Chervyakov was accused of espionage in 1937 and committed suicide. Rakhimbayev was arrested in September 1937 at a Youth Day parade. He was accused of keeping a harem, and shot. Aitakov was also shot. Petrovksy and Kalinin died peacefully after the war.

Left: Almost exactly the same photograph was published shortly afterward in a portfolio about the congress, but Yenukidze's presence was no longer acceptable, and he has been faded into the background.

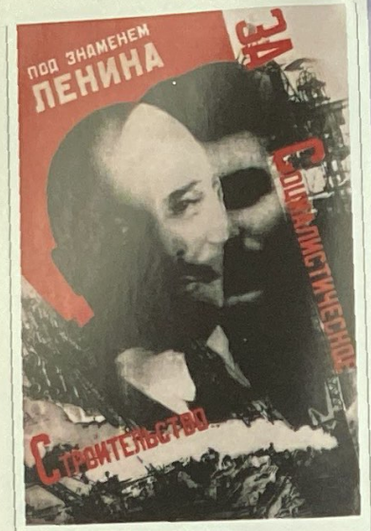
THE EXECUTIVES' EXIT

Above: A photograph from the 1934 Russian edition of the album *Ten Years of Uzbekistan* shows, seated left to right: Akhun Babayev, Vyacheslav Molotov, and Abel Yenukidze. Standing: Ortaqlar Blan Birlikda, Zalaridan Avezov, and Tursun Kodzhayev.

Opposite, above: The Uzbek edition of *Ten Years of Uzbekistan* appeared in 1935, after Yenukidze had been sacked from the Central Committee. The Uzbek Party apparatchiks and Molotov remain, but Yenukidze's departure has necessitated major alterations to Tursun Kodzhayev's suit.
Opposite, below: More blocking-out by Alexander Rodchenko from his copy of the first Russian edition.

In 1937 Stalin sanctioned Yenukidze's execution. He was one of the last "Old Bolsheviks" to be murdered by Yezhov, and eight members of his family were to perish with him.

SOVIET TAILORING IN THE 1930s



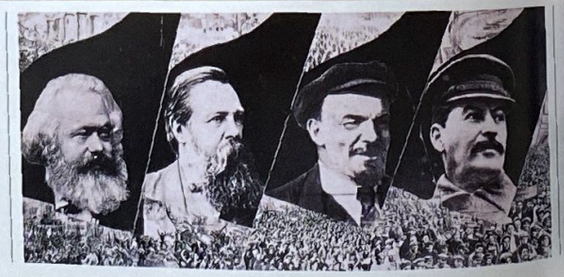
DENOUNCED BY A JEALOUS DESIGNER

Working in Moscow, the Latvian artist Gustav Klutsis (*right*) crossed over from being an avant-garde painter at the time of the Revolution to Stalin's most dedicated political designer. From 1928 onward, his posters for industrialization, collectivization, and in particular the Stalin cult employed all the most powerful weapons in the arsenals of suprematist composition, militant typography, and montage. His posters were published in huge print runs of up to 100,000 copies each, urging the "mass of the people" to "overfill their work norms" and "build the Plan."

In 1938 Klutsis was denounced to the GPU by a jealous designer as an agent of imperialism "working for the British." He was arrested, subjected to intensive interrogation, and shot.

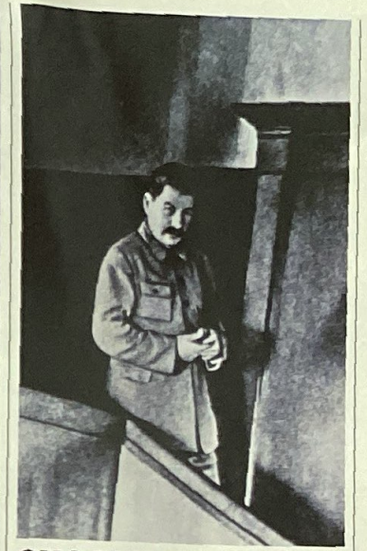
Top: "Under Lenin's Banner," a Five-Year Plan poster that Klutsis designed in 1930. Hindsight reveals the work in a sinister light: with Stalin's shadowy face, partly hidden behind an unsuspecting Lenin, the poster becomes a prophetic icon for the wholesale destruction of the Marxist ideal in the 1930s.

Photomontage was an ideal art form for Stalin. His head could be enlarged to enormous size and juxtaposed with those of the great socialist thinkers. He could also appear alongside the mass of the people, something that in reality he was less than willing to do as the terror deepened.
Above: A powerful Gustav Klutsis poster from 1933 entitled "Under the Banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin."
Right: An unused variation by Klutsis for the same poster.
Opposite: A demonstration by Latvian youth in Riga, 1940, at the time of annexation. A small version of Klutsis's poster can be seen on the placard. The designer of the work had already been shot.



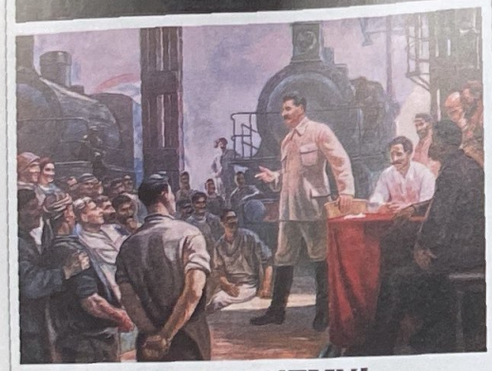
Overleaf, left-hand page: "Long Live Our Happy Socialist Land! Long Live Our Beloved Leader, the Great Stalin!" The apotheosis of his commitment to Stalinism, this breathtaking poster by Klutsis was made in 1935. The mind-bending perspective and wild changes in scale have turned the work, unwittingly perhaps, into a sort of Soviet surrealism. The airplanes over Red Square list the names: "Vladimir Lenin," "Joseph Stalin," "Maxim Gorky," "Mikhail Kalinin," etc., and the formation in the distance on the right spells out "STALIN."
Overleaf, right-hand page: A maquette for another major Klutsis poster, "Long Live the Red Army of Workers and Peasants!" When Marshals Tukhachevsky and Gamarnik were purged from the Red Army in 1937, Klutsis had to hack them out from their positions in this photomontage, flanking Voroshilov. Marshal Yegorov remained on the right of the picture but was arrested and tortured to death in the depths of the Lubyanka in 1939.

ВЛАДИМИР
ЛЕНИН
ИОСИФ
СТАЛИН
МАКСИМ
ГОРЬКИЙ
МИХАИЛ
ВЯЧЕСЛАВ
КЛУШИС
ЗДРАВСТВУЕТ НАША СЧАСТЛИВАЯ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКАЯ РОДИНА.
ЗДРАВСТВУЕТ НАШ ЛЮБИМЫЙ ВЕЛИКИЙ СТАЛИН!



SHOCKWORKER'S SARCOPHAGUS

Left: Tartar delegates at the Second All-Union Conference of Collective Farm Shockworkers, with Stalin and members of the Politburo in Moscow, February 1935. The state of the photograph is such that it looks as if the comrades in the back row have been sprayed with machine-gun fire. But what is really chilling is the afterimage of the departed figure who was seated next to Stalin. Closeness to the leader, physical or ideological, was no guarantee of survival. *Above:* Another photograph from the same conference.



LOOK FOR AN ENEMY!

The photographic composite (*right*) shows graphically how four out of the top seven "specialist worker" graduates from an advanced training course in 1935 later became victims in the campaign against "saboteurs" and "wreckers." Suspicion was endemic. *Pravda* announced that "not one disorder, not one accident, should go unheeded." In the factories, "there can be no breakdowns. . . . Look for an enemy." The slightest mistake, miscalculation, or misprint was judged deliberate. Mass executions of workers, skilled and unskilled, followed.

Top: Fyodor Antonov's painting *Disclosure of the Enemy in the Workshop*, 1938.

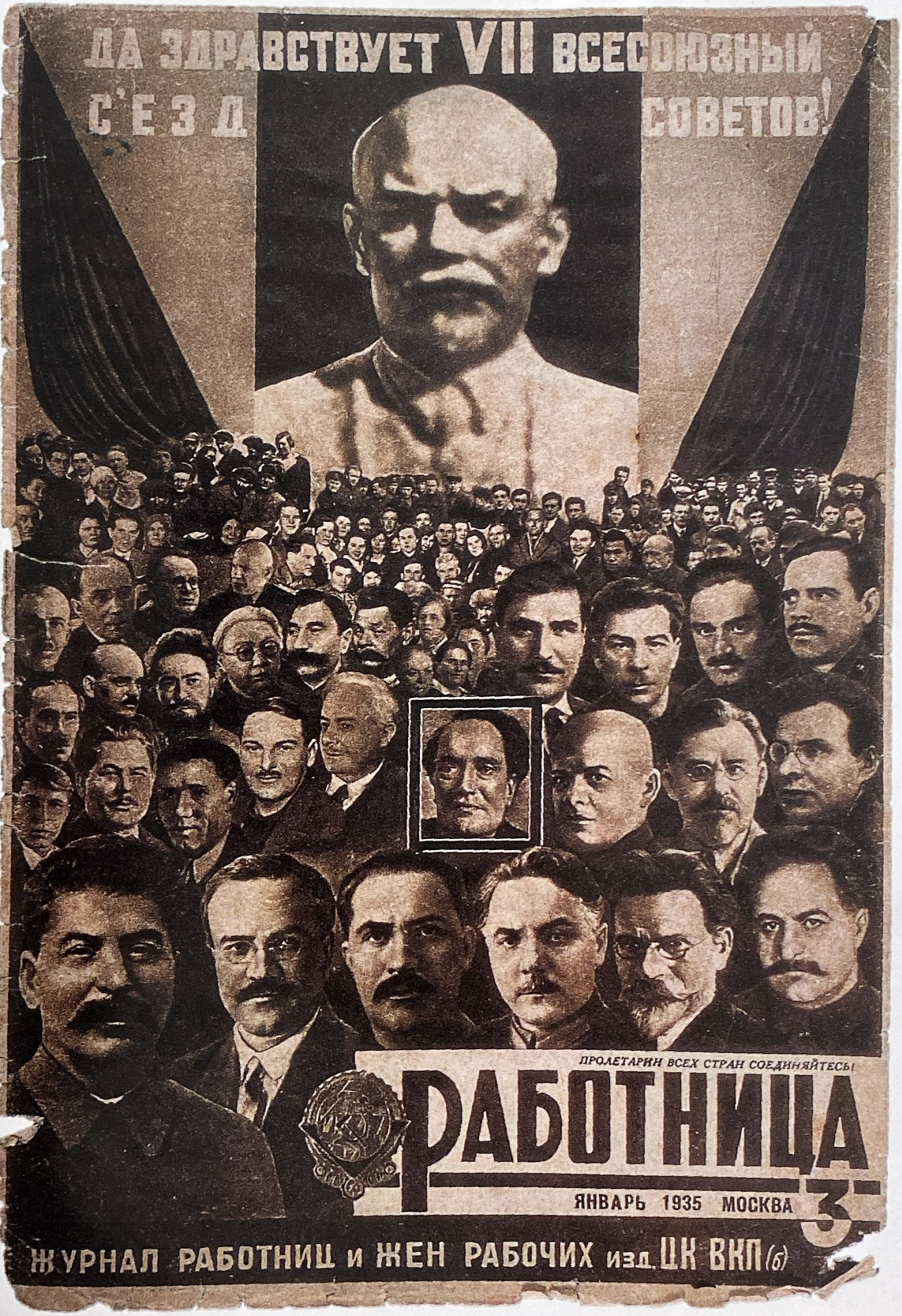
Above: Comrade Stalin with Railroad Craftsmen in Tbilisi, 1926. Iraklii Moiseivich Toidze's painting, shown at the Socialist Industry Exhibition of 1939, could just be ignored as bad art were it not for the chronic misrepresentation of its message. In reality, Stalin was completely removed from ordinary workers. He never visited factories or collective farms and lived in constant fear of assassination.

Above: Delegates at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, July 25, 1935, in Moscow. Left to right: Maurice Thorez (French Communist chief), Stalin, Marcel Cachin, Joseph Pyatnitsky, Georgii Dimitrov, and Wilhelm Pieck. The photograph is heavily retouched, but when it was published fourteen years later (*right*), it was retouched even further: now Pyatnitsky has vanished. Lenin had regarded him as "one of the best Bolsheviks." He had been a key organizer in the Comintern since 1923. On July 7, 1937, he was arrested as a spy and subjected to appalling torture. He had spoken out against a proposal to increase the powers of the NKVD. He was shot later that month with 137 others in a massacre of the Party leadership. His wife was also arrested and never seen again, and his eldest son spent years in the Gulag. "For the Party," he once said, "we must endure everything, just so that it remains alive."

Stalin's policy of "Socialism in One Country" effectively destroyed any lingering hope in the 1930s of the world socialist revolution, and in 1943 he finally disbanded the Comintern. *Opposite:* Not many women were in evidence in this photomontage of Stalin among a sea of Party functionaries that appeared on the cover of *Rabotnitsa* (*Woman Worker*), January 1935. The issue was dedicated to the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets, which set up a special commission to produce a new Soviet constitution, which was written with painstaking care by Bukharin and Karl Radek. Not surprisingly, it became known as the "Stalin Constitution." Bukharin and Radek were subsequently liquidated.

Overleaf: Vasilii Yakovlev and Petr Shukhmin's "Comrade Stalin amid the Peoples of the USSR," published in a 1937 album entitled *The Stalin Socialist Constitution.*

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

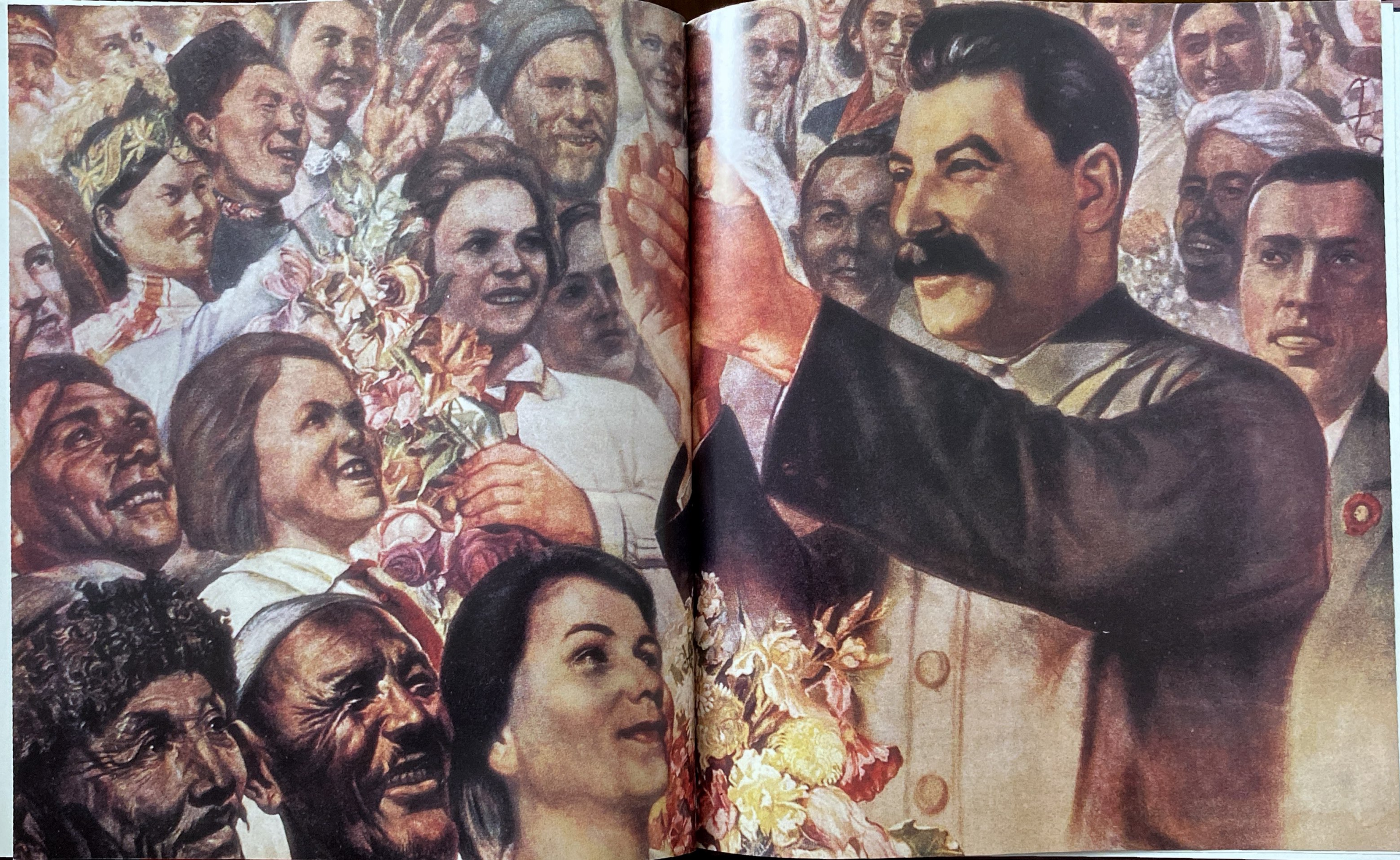


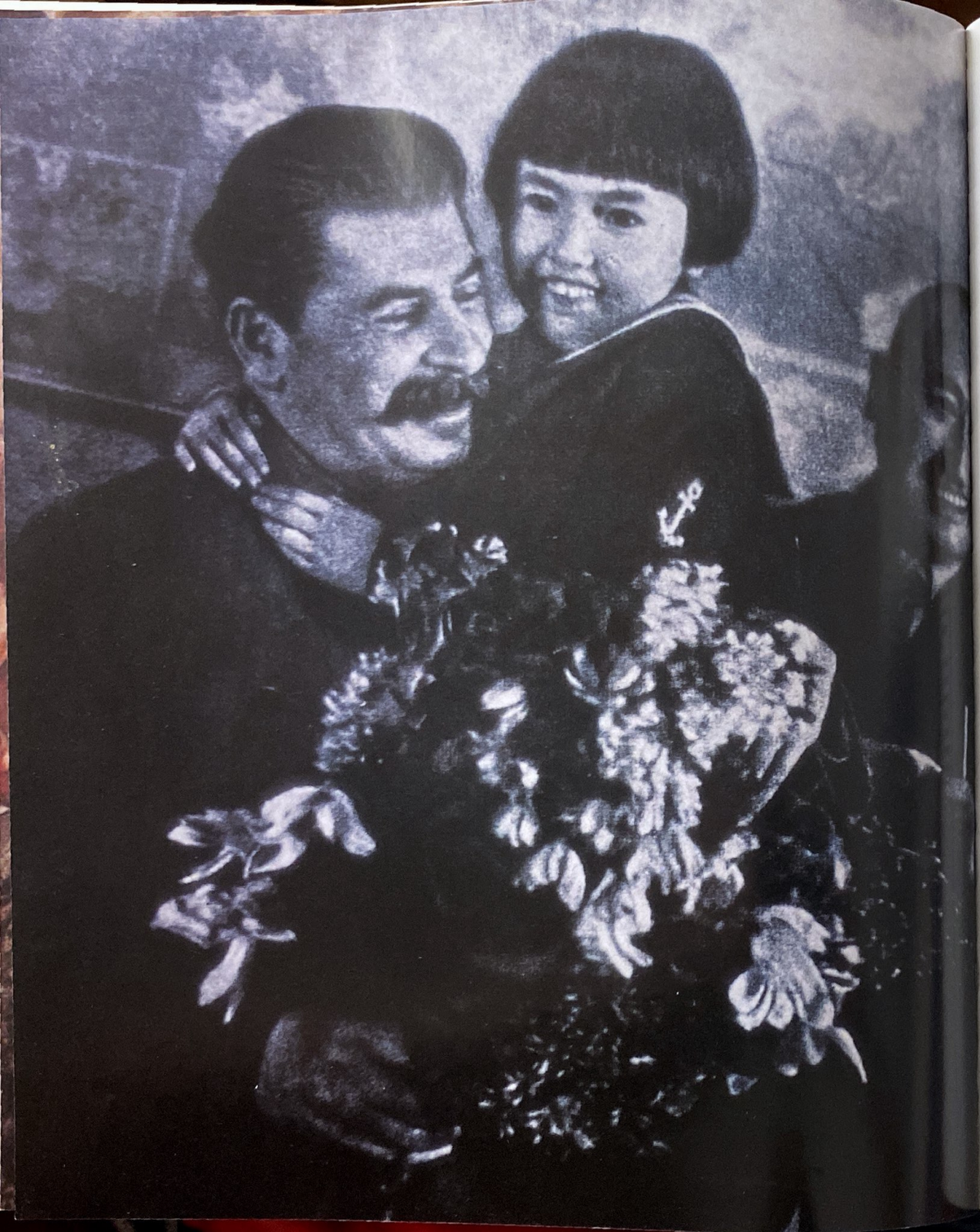
ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСЕХ СТРАН СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ!

РАБОТНИЦА

ЯНВАРЬ 1935 МОСКВА 3

ЖУРНАЛ РАБОТНИЦ и ЖЕН РАБОЧИХ изд. ЦК ВКП(б)





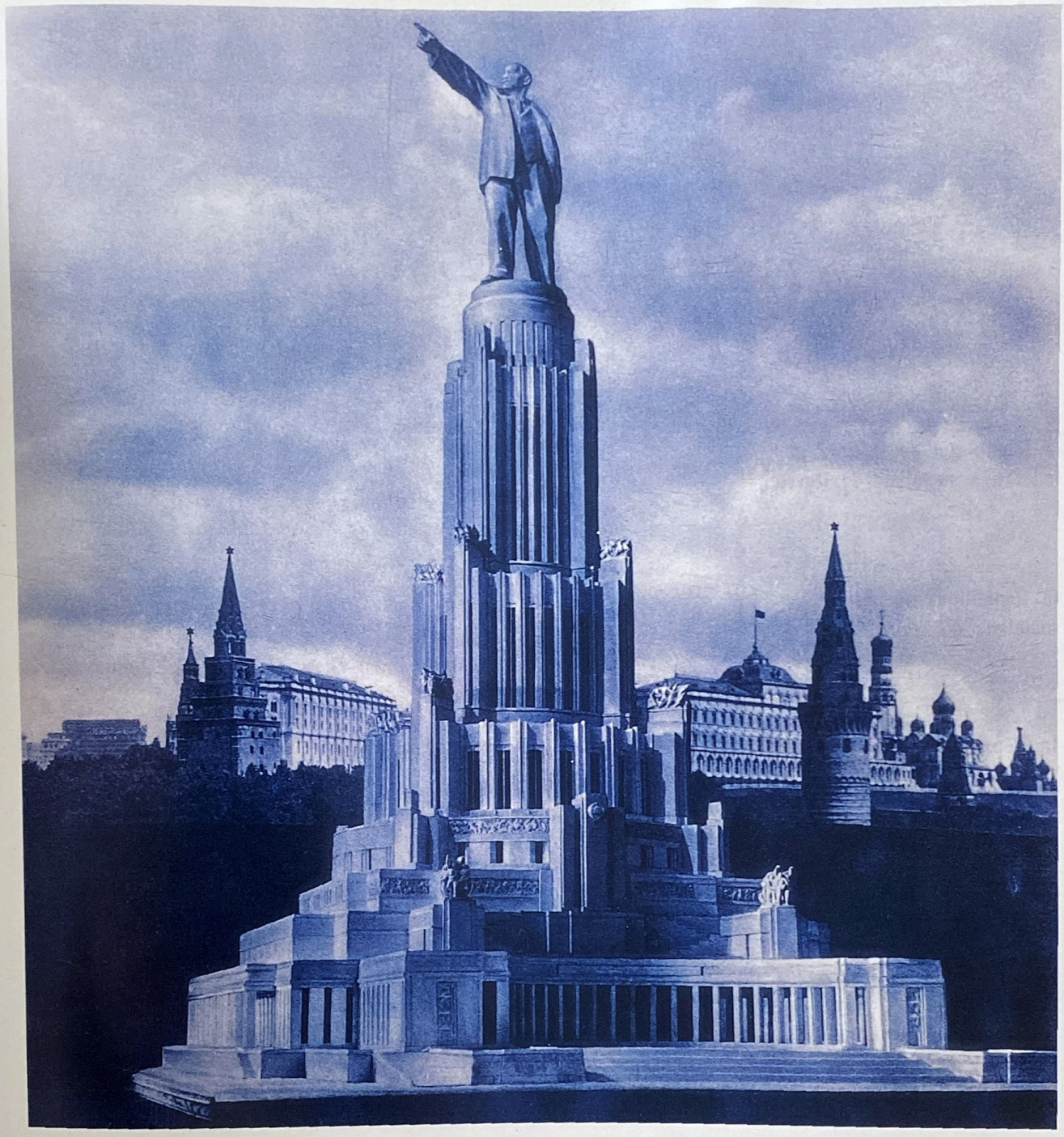
Opposite: This photograph, which became a famous Soviet icon, shows the "Friend of the Little Children" in a joyous mood, having just received a huge bouquet from six-year-old Gelya Markizova. To the right of the picture can be seen M. I. Erbanov, first secretary of the Buryat Mongol ASSR, who also seems very happy. They are attending a reception in the Kremlin in 1936.

A year later Gelya's father, Ardan (*above*), the republic's second secretary, was shot for "spying for Japan" and "making preparations for the assassination of Stalin." Soon after, her mother, Dominica (*top right*), "the wife of an enemy of the people," was murdered under mysterious circumstances—so mysterious that the case was never investigated by the authorities.

Top center: M. I. Erbanov, the first secretary, was also purged and deleted from the photograph when it was reproduced later. *Above:* The "icon" joyously paraded through the streets of Leningrad in 1937 on the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution. A sculpture glorifying the unforgettable occasion, by Georgii Lavrov, was erected in the Stalinskaya metro station. When rumor began to circulate that one of the subjects in the sculpture had murdered the other's parents, the propaganda value of the sculpture fell, causing the Siberian artist to be denounced himself.

UNFORGETTABLE MOMENT

СТАРОНОСОВ



HIGHER AND HIGHER!

The Lenin cult climbed to its zenith in the mid-1930s with the proposed construction of the Palace of Soviets. Boris Yofan won a lengthy competition that included entries from architects of many countries. Yofan's submission (*above*) was approved in February 1934. The 1,250-foot tower included an enormous 300-foot tall figure of Lenin. The whole building became a pedestal for his figure. The historic Church of Christ the Savior in the center of Moscow was blown up to make way for it, but only the foundations were laid. The palace was never built because war intervened. Subsequently it became the site of the huge Moscow open-air swimming pool. Today the church has been rebuilt on its original site, with new materials. The marble rubble from the old church was recycled into the construction of the Moscow Metro.

Opposite: On a smaller scale, but no less bizarre, Staronosov's engraving from *The Life of Lenin* was published in 1936. It shows Lenin and Krupskaya in a somewhat theatrical setting in the Alps during their three-year exile in Switzerland before the Revolution.

It was at this time that Lenin wrote his famous work, "Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism."

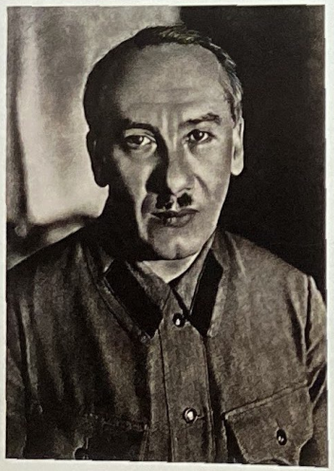
A SWIFT EXIT

In July 1933, Stalin, Kliment Voroshilov, Sergei Kirov, and Genrich Yagoda took a boat trip up the Stalin-Belomor canal, recently constructed by slave labor at a huge cost to human life. Eight OGPU project chiefs, Yagoda included, received the Order of Lenin for "their work." This painting (*right*) was commissioned from the socialist realist artist Dmitri Nalbandyan, who died in 1994, still an unreconstructed Stalinist. In early 1937, when the work was almost complete, Yagoda and his cadres were arrested as a gang of thieves, embezzlers, and spies and for being "four years late in exposing the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc."

Nalbandyan was thrown into confusion, but on Voroshilov's orders retouchers were sent from the Tretyakov Art Gallery to extricate Yagoda from the oil painting, a task requiring more skill than doctoring a photograph. Chillingly, his place in the painting (to the left of Kirov) was taken by an overcoat folded over a handrail—as if he had neither the time nor the need to take it with him.

Below: Construction of the canal by slave labor. Thirty thousand lives are said to have been lost on the project.

Bottom: Genrich Yagoda, who was shot in the Lubyanka, 1938.



Nikolai Yezhov and Joseph Stalin (*above*) conspiring together on the twentieth anniversary of the creation of the Cheka, Moscow, December 20, 1937. With the replacement of Yagoda by Yezhov as secret police chief, Stalin's reign of terror reached its peak. Yezhov was to head the NKVD for less than two years. "Yezhovschina" (the days of Yezhov), as they were known, brought death on a scale unprecedented in Russian history. Stalin would initial the endless lists of names, and Yezhov's special gang of killers—two hundred strong—would do the rest, with the utmost cruelty. In the end, all opposition, real or imagined, was wiped out.

PROCESS OF ELIMINATION

Left: Andrei Vyshinsky, state prosecutor, summing up at the third Moscow show trial of Nikolai Bukharin, Alexei Rykov, Isaak Zelensky, and seventeen others: "I demand that mad dogs be shot!" Vyshinsky screamed, "Every one of them must be shot!" *Opposite:* Courtroom scene at one of the Moscow trials. Leon Trotsky, languishing in exile in Mexico, denounced the trials as Stalin's "conscious and premeditated frame-up."

„ФАТЕРЛЯНД"

ON GUARD

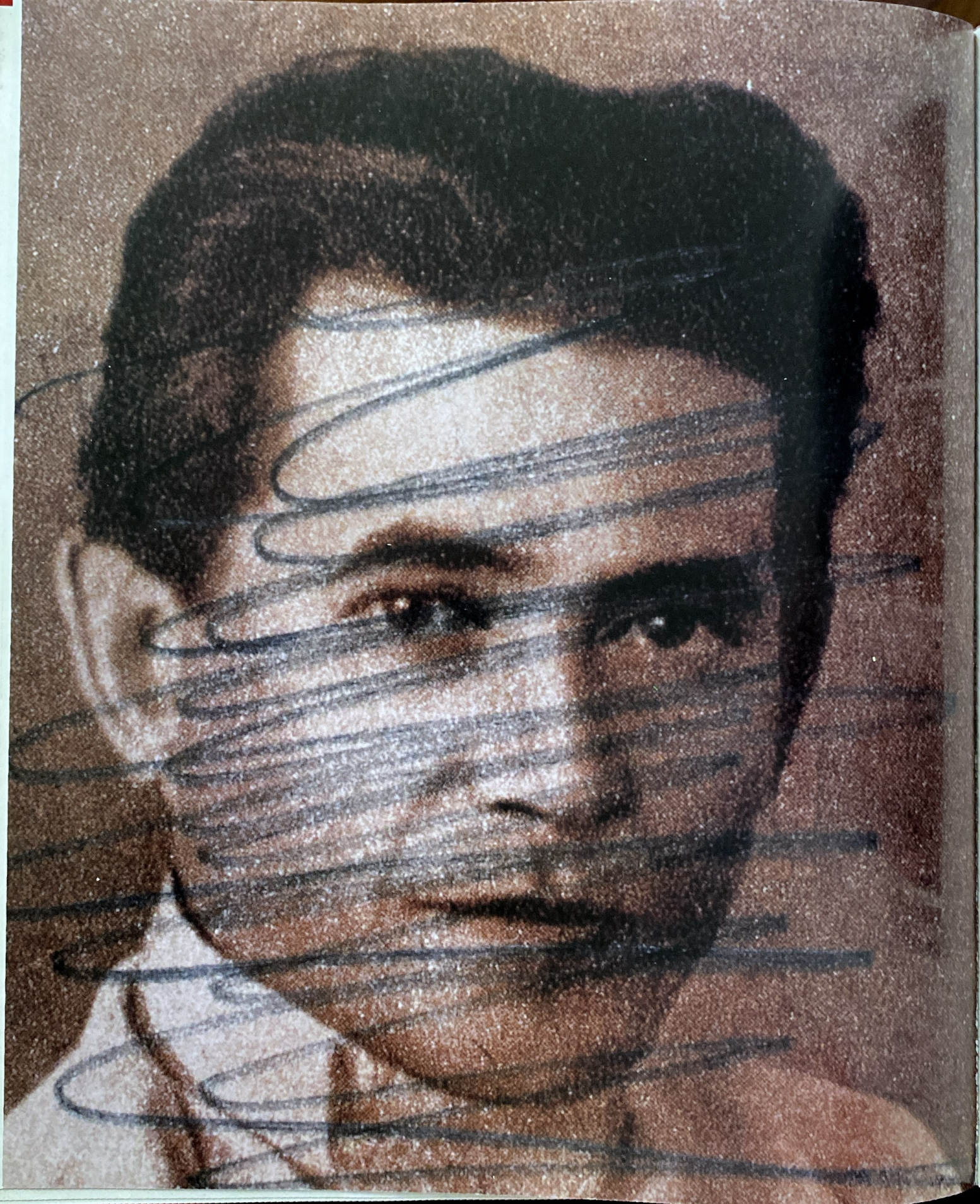
Above: A photomontage by El Lissitsky from the photographic album *Red Army,* which he designed in 1934. It shows Kliment Voroshilov, people's commissar for defense, with his leading marshals. They are (top row, left to right) Gamarnik, Tukhachevsky, Yegorov, Khalepsky, Orlov, and Yakir. Second row: General S. Kamenev, Ordjonikidze, Budenny, Alksnis, Muklevich, Eideman, and Uborevich.

Stalin's purge of the Red Army took place in mid-1937. Tukhachevsky and other high-ranking officers were condemned to death and executed without trial on June 11. Marshals Voroshilov, Budenny, Blucher, and Yegorov signed the death sentences. Shortly afterward it was the turn of Blucher and Yegorov to face the firing squad. General Kamenev and Yan Gamarnik both committed suicide. Altogether, 25,000 officers were slain. From the photomontage only Voroshilov and Budenny survived, both outdated incompetents, to confront the impending Nazi invasion.

At a Politburo meeting in 1938, Stalin was to praise Tukhachevsky's military talents, his great sense of responsibility, and his striving to keep abreast of the fast-changing theory, technology, and practice of military affairs. This was less than twelve months after he had had him shot. Tukhachevsky's family was also destroyed. His wife, Nina, his mother, and two brothers died in prison, while his daughter and four sisters were all arrested, as well as friends.

Top: The decapitation of the Red Army: a surreal relic from Moscow in the darkest days of 1937. Budenny, Kalinin, and Voroshilov are flanked by a lineup of top-flight Soviet marshals, all later obliterated.

Opposite: Boris Efimov's vicious caricature of Rykov, Sokolnikov, Bukharin, Radek, and Trotsky wallowing in a trough entitled "Vaterland" (German for "Fatherland"), published at the time of the third Moscow show trial of 1938.



DROWNED IN BLOOD

Opposite: Nikolai Yezhov's portrait, from an album on Kazakhstan published in the late 1930s, has been scribbled out by the owner, following the news of his execution.

Yezhov had been removed from his post as people's commissar for internal affairs on December 8, 1938. His position at the NKVD was taken by Beria, who arrested him on April 10, 1939. Yezhov was shot on February 4, 1940.

Top: Leaders of the Party and government with members of the Moscow Art Theater on its fortieth anniversary, October 27, 1938. Yezhov is standing fifth from the right. Nikita Khrushchev is next to him on the left.

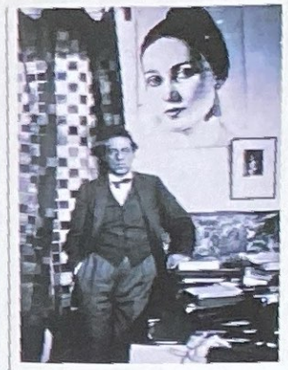
Center: The same photograph published on Stalin's seventieth birthday in 1949. Yezhov and the director of the Art Theater, Y. Boyarsky, have been spirited away by the retouchers, who have carefully extended the dark wooden paneling.

Above, left and right: Yezhov's removal from his other post as commissar of water transport is clearly illustrated in this photograph of a gentle stroll along the banks of the Moscow-Volga canal. In the retouched version, only Voroshilov, Molotov, and Stalin are left to pass the time of day. The canal had been constructed by forced labor at an enormous cost in human lives.

Much later, in 1956, Khrushchev was to tell the Twentieth Party Congress that Yezhov was an alcoholic and drug addict who "got what he deserved."

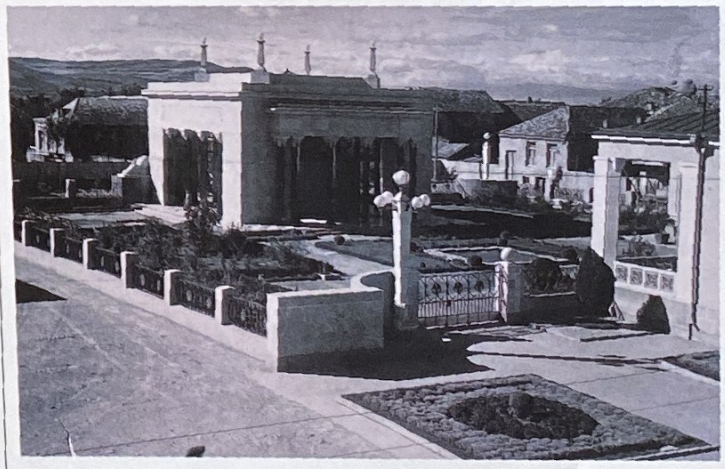
JEALOUSY AND REVENGE

The last photographs of Isaak Babel, the distinguished writer, were these mug shots (*right*) taken by the NKVD following his arrest on May 16, 1939. Babel was extremely nearsighted, so his glasses must have already been smashed during his interrogation in the Lubyanka. Babel's arrest was Yezhov's final act of jealousy and revenge. In 1927, some years before she married Yezhov, Yevgenia Khayutina had an affair with Babel in Berlin. In 1936 the acquaintance was renewed when Yevgenia, by this time chief editor of the magazine *USSR in Construction*, invited him to work for the journal. Babel rarely met the murderous secret police chief, but Yezhov became suspicious. His wife entered a sanatorium in a depressed state in October 1938 and died under mysterious circumstances the following month. Yezhov, who was arrested the following year, denounced Babel to his interrogators, telling them he had been spying for France. Babel had been working for a long time on a novel about the Cheka, but the book was never completed. The author of *Red Cavalry* (see cover *top*), and other famous stories from the time of the Civil War, was shot on January 27, 1940.



EARTH IN TURMOIL

The famous theatrical director Vsevolod Meyerhold (*top*) was arrested at the same time as Babel and tortured by the same interrogators. He was shot on February 2, 1940. He is seen here in his study standing in front of a portrait of his wife, the actress Zinaida Raikh. At the height of their fame, their apartment in Moscow had been a glamorous meeting place for the international intelligentsia. Shortly after Meyerhold's arrest, his wife was found at home, brutally stabbed to death. It is said that neighbors heard screaming but imagined it was only the sound of Zinaida rehearsing a new play.
Above: Liubov Popova's design for Meyerhold's 1923 production of *Earth in Turmoil* included a portrait of Trotsky, upper left, to whom the production was dedicated. Meyerhold's NKVD inquisitors seized upon this as a key charge against him.



BORN AGAIN

The Stalin cult reached a new, quasi-religious phase with the advent of the dictator's sixtieth birthday on December 21, 1939. His every childhood exploit was rewritten into history like some lost book from the Bible.

In painting and sculpture he was given a prophet-like aura. His image was everywhere—in metal, stone, paint, light, grains of wheat. The replica became the reality; Stalin was made of marble and he stood hundreds of feet high.

Opposite: Z. Snigir's contribution to the "sacred" style was *J. V. Stalin and His Mother* in 1939. Stalin's mother had given birth to three children before Stalin, but they all died before he was born. After 1903 he had little further time for his mother, who stayed in Georgia. She traveled to Moscow on two occasions to visit her son in the Kremlin, and died peacefully in 1937.

Top: Comrade Stalin and the Youth of the Town by the Georgian artist K. K. Gzelishvili. The town is Gori, where Stalin was born.

Above, left and right: In 1939 Stalin's humble birthplace was transformed under the vigilant eye of NKVD chief Lavrentii Beria. A giant marble pavilion was built over it, surrounded by pink flower beds.

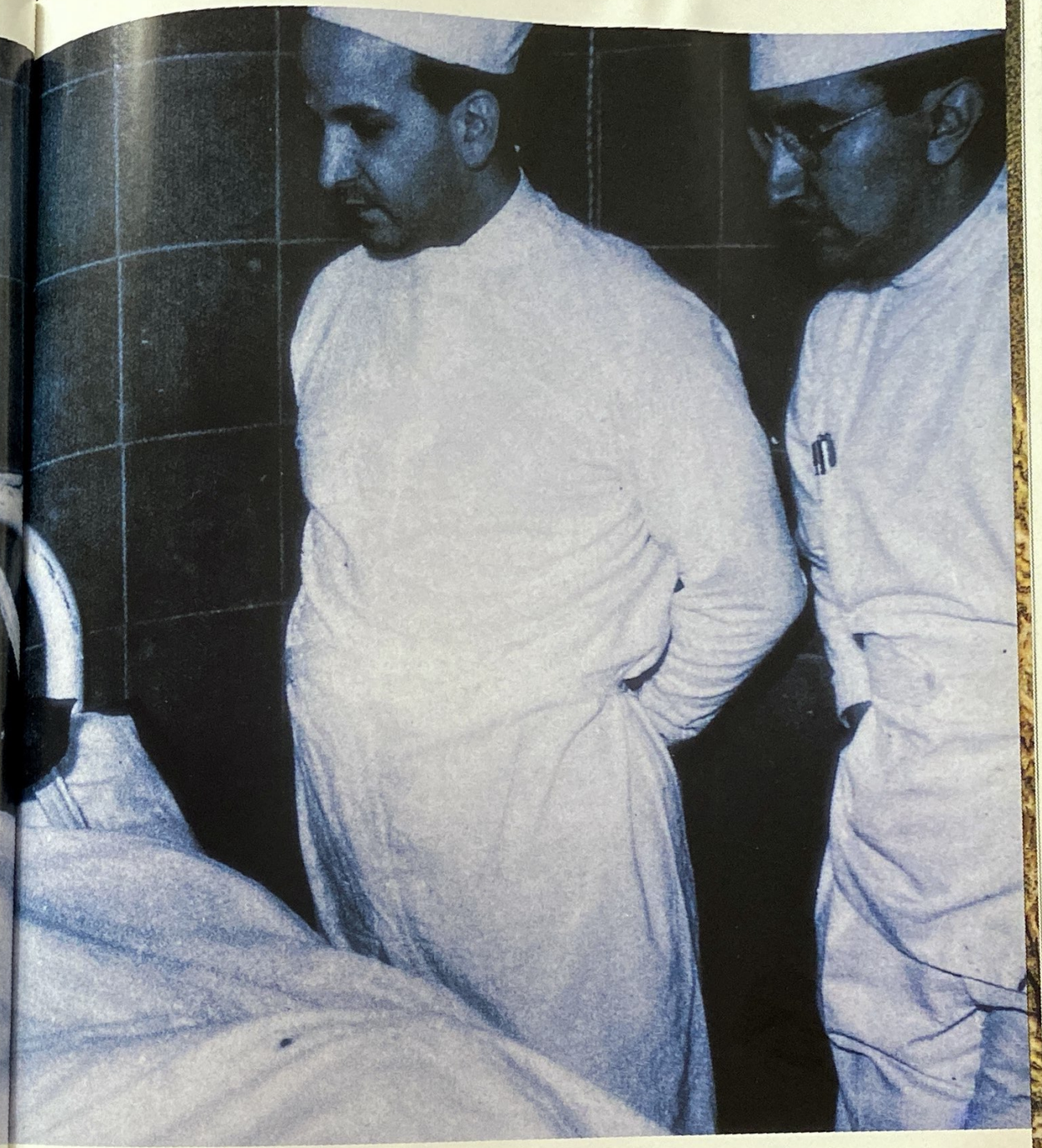
STALIN'S SIGNATURE

Above: Stalin shaking hands with von Ribbentrop at the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact in the Moscow Kremlin, August 1939.

For years the Stalinists had slandered Trotsky and the oppositionists by equating them with the Nazis. Now the Communist parties of the world had to accept that Hitler was not, after all, a threat to world peace. World War II began the following month.

A year later Stalin finally executed his plan to assassinate his last and most hated Communist opponent, Leon Trotsky.

Right: Attacked by a Stalinist agent, Trotsky lies dying in a hospital in Mexico City, August 21, 1940.



VICTORY!

The heroism and suffering of the Soviet people following the Nazi invasion of June 1941 cannot satisfactorily be conveyed here. By the time the Nazis were finally defeated in May 1945, between 25 million and 30 million Russians had lost their lives.

Stalin's initial response to the invasion was disbelief, followed by indecision. When he recovered his senses, he called upon the people to fight—not for Marx and Lenin—but for Russian nationalism.

Stalin made only two visits to the front, but it is thought that he did not leave Moscow when it looked like the capital was in danger of falling during the winter of 1941.

Above: This drawing, made in 1947 by K. Finogenov entitled *Stalin at the Moscow Front in 1941*, shows that the Great Strategist was less than concerned about placing himself in grave danger.

Right: Another example of Stalinist postwar glorification, a battle painting by P. A. Krivonogov portraying the seizure of the Reichstag in May 1945.

Above: The "Big Three" talks, bringing together the Allied leaders Stalin, Harry Truman, and British prime minister Clement Attlee, got under way in Potsdam in July 1945. Yevgenii Khaldei's photograph of the Soviet team shows Vyshinsky and Molotov gazing at Stalin, with Red Army chief of staff Antonov (reading) and Andrei Gromyko on the right. It was this veteran foreign minister who forty years later, in 1985, nominated Mikhail Gorbachev for the post of General Secretary.

Right: The same photograph, widely published four years later, shows the deletion of two officials between Antonov and Gromyko. Admiral of the Fleet N. G. Kuznetsov had been Supreme Commander of the Soviet Navy throughout the war. Stalin accused him in 1947 of handing over sea maps to the wartime Allies. He was swiftly demoted and sent to the Pacific. After Stalin's death, he was cleared and given his old job back. The figure in the shadows sitting between Kuznetsov and Gromyko in the original photograph is Ivan Maisky. He was the popular—too popular—Soviet ambassador to Britain during the war. In 1947 he was dismissed from the Central Committee, and in 1952 he was arrested, accused of spying for the British. He was released from prison in 1954.

MISSING FROM POTSDAM

Opposite: Besides Stalin, only two other figures in history wished to be referred to as "Generalissimo": the Spanish fascist dictator, Francisco Franco, and Chinese Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek. This doesn't seem to have bothered the Ukrainian artist A. Reznichenko, whose work adorned an album entitled "Glory to the Great Stalin," about the victory over fascism.

RED STAR OVER THE KREMLIN

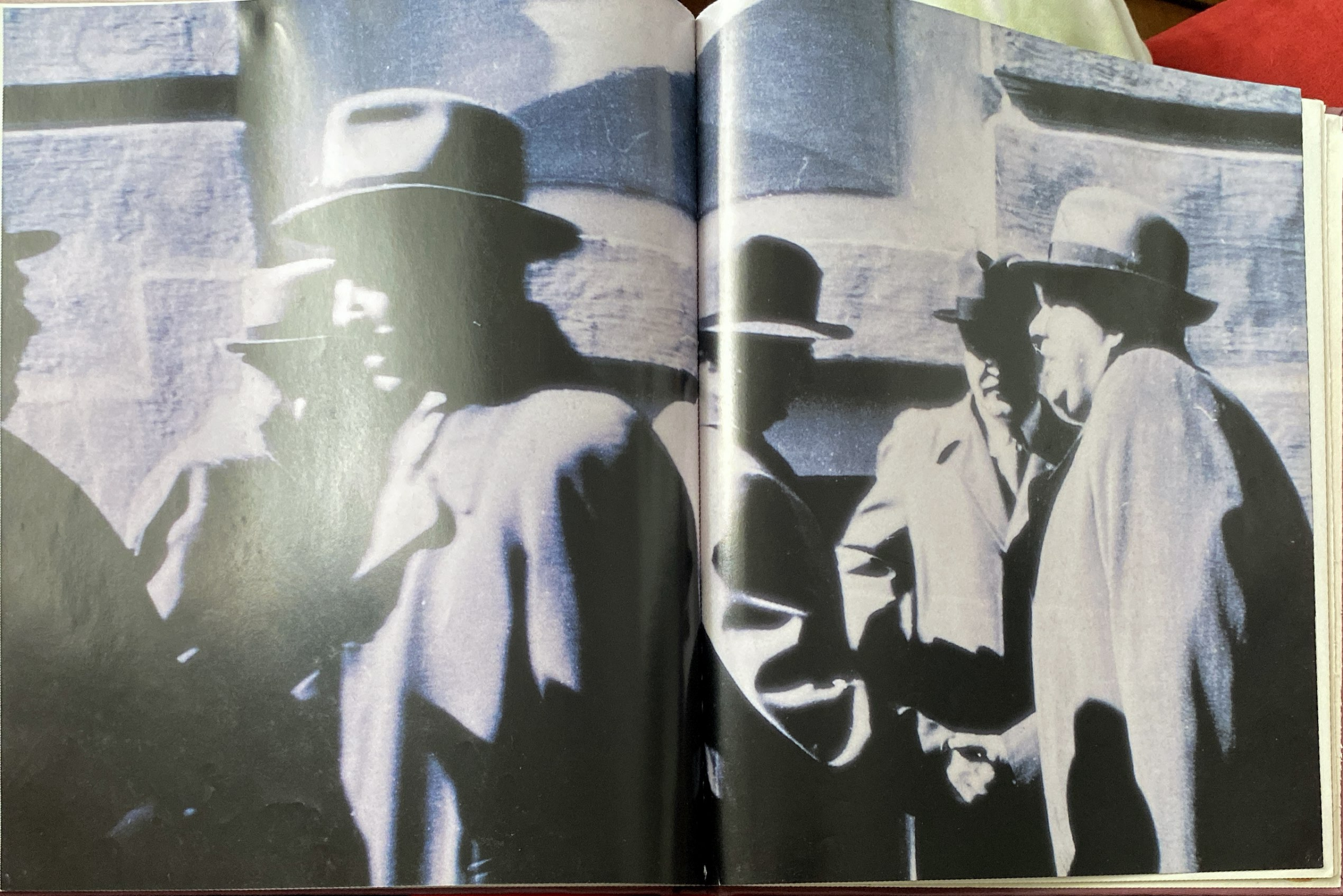
Above left: A poster from the late 1940s titled "Long Live the All-Union Physical Culture Day."
Above right: J. V. Stalin and V. M. Molotov with Children, artist unknown, circa 1951. For a short time after 1945, it seemed that life for the Russian people might improve after three decades of war, revolution, famine, terror, and invasion. The Stalin cult, however, continued to grow, and the specter of Beria's secret police was ever-present.

Opposite: The weekly magazine *Ogonyek* celebrated the despot's seventieth birthday in December 1949 with a cover photomontage showing the "Celestial Stalin" in the night sky over Red Square. The Muscovites below him, however, seem to be looking in the other direction.

Overleaf: High-ranking Party officials at a May Day rally at the end of the war. Left to right: Georgii Malenkov (in silhouette), Andrei Zhdanov (Stalin's hated culture boss), Alexei Kuznetsov, Lavrentii Beria, Vyacheslav Molotov, and A. S. Shcherbakov (a mass slaughterer who drank himself to death nine days after this picture was taken). Kuznetsov, a war hero from the days of the siege of Leningrad, became a victim of Beria's mass purge of Party workers in that city in 1949. A huge anti-semitic purge was rumored to be next on Stalin's agenda, but his own death intervened.

ОГОНЁК

№ 52 ДЕКАБРЬ 1949
ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО «ПРАВДА»



DEATH IS NOT THE END

Stalin suffered a stroke and brain hemorrhage at the beginning of March 1953. He was dismissed from his post as prime minister by the other Party leaders just ninety minutes before his death on March 6. The bloodletting that he had inflicted on the Soviet people did not quite end there, however. In what seemed like a last terrible act of malevolence, hundreds of mourners were crushed to death in the struggle to enter the Hall of Columns in Moscow, where the dictator's body was lying in state.

Above: Great apprehension can be seen on the faces of the Politburo in this photomontage published in the Soviet press at the time of the funeral.

Right: High priests of the Russian Orthodox church paying their last respects. *Center right:* Andrei Vyshinsky is devastated by the news of his master's death. He died of a heart attack the following year, amid persistent rumors of an impending commission to investigate the years of terror. *Far right:* Three minutes' silence is observed for Stalin throughout the Soviet Union on March 9, 1953.

Берингово море: 1, 2, 3. *Побережье Берингова моря.* 3. Китобоец с добычей китов. 5. Убитые моржи на льдине. 6. Кашалот в водах Берингова моря.

Opposite: Secret police chief Lavrentii Beria. His fifteen-year rule came to an end late at night on December 23, 1953. In the power struggle that followed Stalin's death, his bid for the leadership was terminated by Georgii Malenkov and Nikita Khrushchev. A secret trial took place in an underground bunker in Moscow, presided over by four famous World War II military leaders, Ivan Konev, Kirill Moskalenko, Mikhail Mikhailov, and Mikhail Gromov. Beria was found guilty and shot. His last words were "I am innocent."

Beria must have liked the expression on his face in the official portrait because the same head was used again (*above left*), this time montaged onto civilian dress.

Following his execution, his photograph and fawning biography in the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* were promptly substituted. Subscribers worldwide were sent a four-page insert carrying a series of photographs and "new information" on the Bering Sea (*above right*). Whalers were shown harpooning their catch—a fitting metaphor for the fate of Stalin's blubbery henchman.

Above: Beria and Malenkov waving to the crowds in Red Square, Moscow, 1953.

BLUBBERY HENCHMAN

GHOSTWRITER

Left: This photograph, published for the first time, shows Petr Nikolaievich Pospelov (seated, wearing glasses) with his personnel. A veteran Stalinist, Pospelov was variously an editor of the theoretical magazine of the Central Committee *Bolshevik* from the 1930s, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and editor in chief of *Pravda*. At the height of the Great Purges, he was Stalin's ghostwriter for the infamous *History of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Short Course*. Ten years later his adulation knew no bounds as he wrote the *Short Biography of J. V. Stalin*. After Stalin's death, Pospelov proved himself to be more than flexible. He was the man who, in 1956, wrote the first draft of Khrushchev's secret speech acknowledging Stalin's crimes. At the direction of Khrushchev but against the wishes of the likes of Molotov and Voroshilov, Pospelov had headed a commission on the terror. Khrushchev reported the findings in a closed session of the Twentieth Party Congress. Entitled "On the Cult of Personality and its Consequences," the speech was leaked to the West, where it was highly publicized, but it was not published in the Soviet Union until 1989.

Right: Stalin had ordered his body to be embalmed and placed beside Lenin's in Red Square. Thus it became, for eight years, the Lenin-Stalin Mausoleum (*top*). The corpse remained there until the Twenty-second Party Congress voted it out in 1961—five years after Khrushchev's secret speech. The removal of his name and the replacement letters just reading "LENIN" can be seen in the two center photographs. *Bottom:* Stalin's body ended up under a horizontal monolith behind the mausoleum.

SZTALIN
"ESKÜSZÜNK NEKED LENIN ELVTÁRS, HOGY ÉLETÜNKET SEM KÍMÉLVE RAJTA LESZÜNK, HOGY ERŐSÍTSÜK AZ EGÉSZ VILÁG DOLGOZÓINAK SZÖVETSÉGÉT, A KOMMUNISTA INTERNACIONÁLÉT."

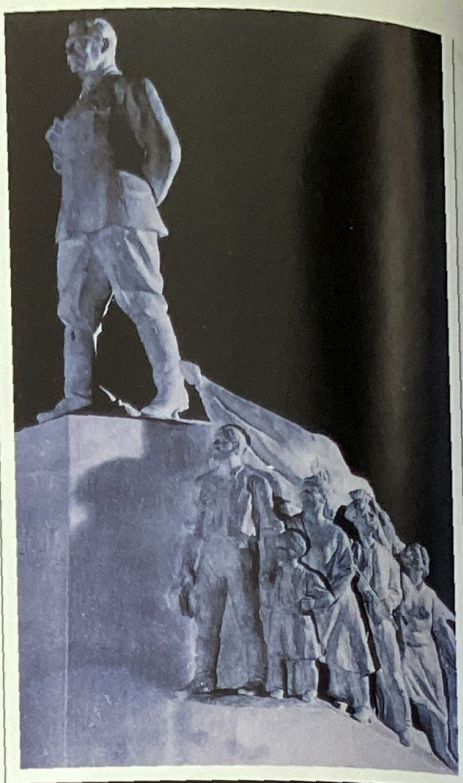
THE LOSING FINALISTS

Stalin's "cult of personality" was denounced in Khrushchev's secret speech of 1956, which also promised much-needed reforms throughout the Soviet bloc. This was not lost on the people of Hungary. Dissatisfaction with the Stalinist government there led thousands of students in Budapest to head for the city park, where they felled and destroyed (*above*) the hated Stalin statue, a massive bronze confection that stood 60 feet high on a pink marble plinth. The student revolt quickly turned into a nationwide struggle for liberation, with workers setting up revolutionary committees to replace the totally discredited Party and state apparatus. The Hungarian revolution was crushed within a month by the swift invasion of the Red Army.

The Stalin statue had been the work of a Hungarian sculptor named Kistaludi-Strobl. It was the winning entry in a competition, sponsored by the Hungarian Workers' Party.

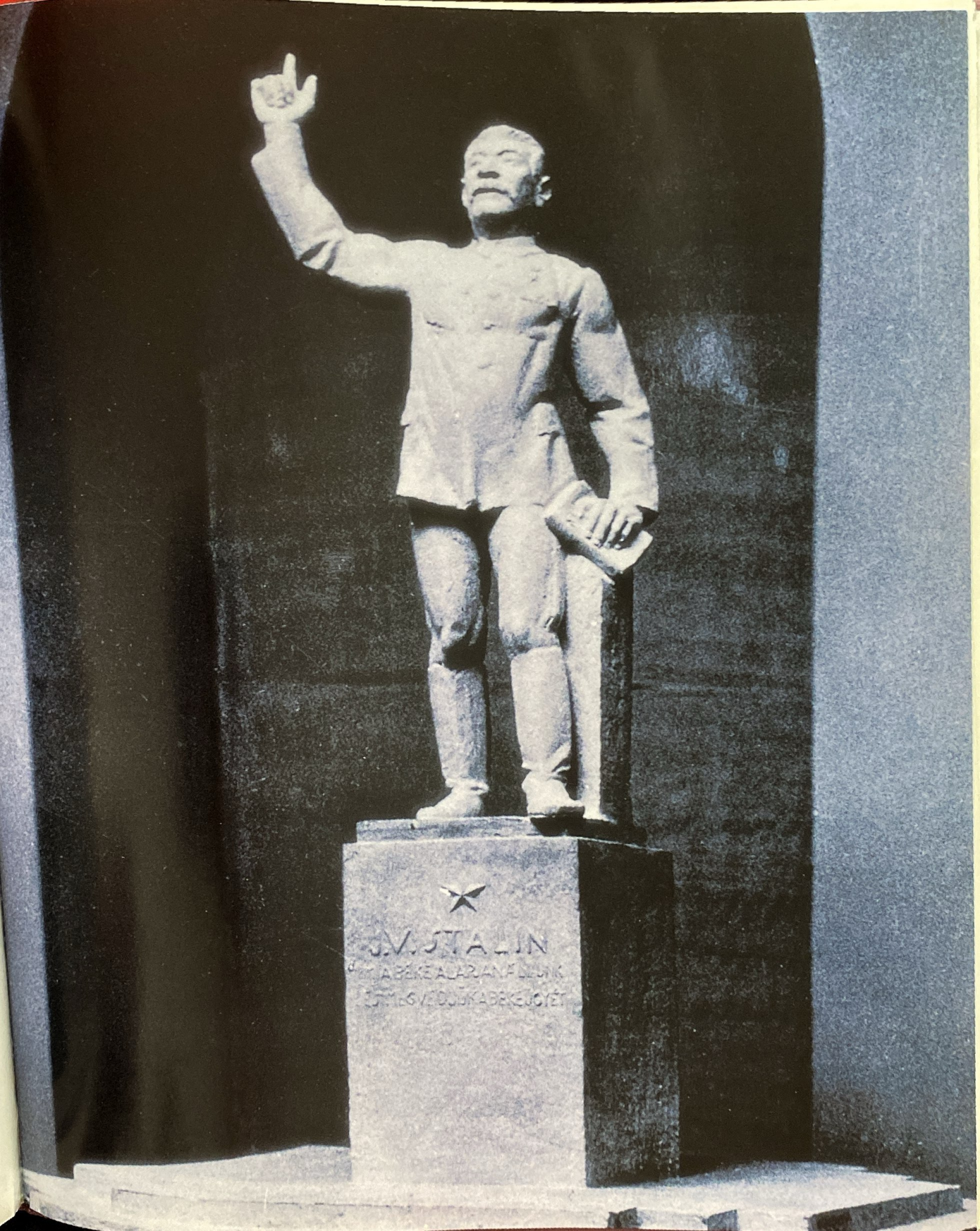
Published here for the first time are photographs of the works that were submitted by the losing finalists in the competition. *Opposite and overleaf:* Eight "Stalins" that made it no further than their maquettes.

Bach Andor



Bohus B. Dezső

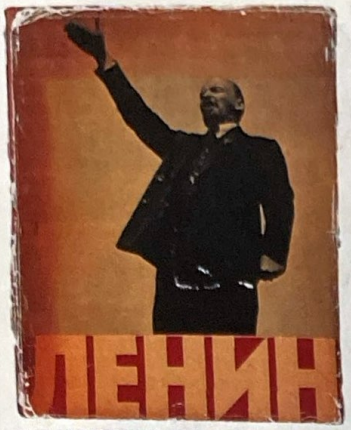
Makovecz Imre


J.V. STALIN

FULL CIRCLE

Vladimir Serov's *Lenin Proclaiming Soviet Power at the Second Congress of Soviets*, painted in 1947, received a Stalin Prize the following year. Behind Lenin can be seen Stalin, Dzerzhinsky, and Sverdlov.

Under pressure from Khrushchev, Serov had to repaint the portrait in full in 1962. De-Stalinization required that revolutionary workers should replace Lenin's henchmen. This tragic and terrible episode in history had now come full circle.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is almost three decades since I first started collecting photographs, books, posters, and all kinds of graphic and printed matter documenting the political and social history of Russia and the former Soviet Union. During that time I have been fortunate to meet many people, worldwide, who share the same interests and who have generously contributed their knowledge and enthusiasm in the search for new material.

I would particularly like to thank my friends Judy Groves, Doris Rau, Francis Wyndham, Stephen Cohen, and Dr. Yoram Gorlizki. Without their help, this book would not have been possible.

A special thanks is also due to Professor Miklos Kun of Budapest University, a friend who must have taken to heart the title of Isaak Babel's short story "You Must Know Everything."

Sadly missed is another great friend, the late Natan Federovsky, whose infectious humor, generosity, and understanding of Soviet art and photography was, and still is, legendary.

I would like to thank everybody at Metropolitan Books for making work on this project so exciting. I am particularly indebted to Stephen Hubbell (senior editor) for his unfailing wisdom and tireless support, likewise Sara Bershtel (editorial director), Thomas Engelhardt (consulting editor), Lucy Albanese (design director), and Betty Lew.

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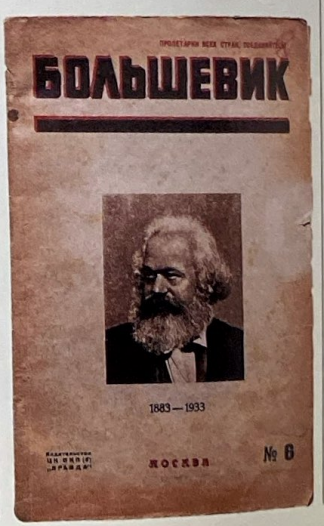

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Top: Andrei Vyshinsky signs the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship on February 14, 1950.
Above: Published in *Pravda* in 1953, immediately after Stalin's death, the same photograph has been compacted. Georgii Malenkov, Stalin's immediate successor, has jumped three places to be close to Stalin and Mao, and everyone else has been eliminated.

The post-Stalin Party leadership objected to this, and prepared a special secret instruction outlawing all future photographic falsifications. Unfortunately, they did not keep their word.

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Above: The identification card of Ivan Grigorievich Zaitsev, an officer in the NKVD. Beneath his photograph and signature is printed: "The Chekist must be selflessly devoted to the Party of Lenin-Stalin, watchful and merciless in the struggle against the enemies of the Soviet state." It was signed personally in red ink in 1944 by the People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, L. Beria.